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  - 4:2. The Life of St Andrew the Fool. Edited by *Lennart Rydén*. II. Text, Translation and Notes. Appendices. 1995.
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  6. ΑΕΙΜΩΝ. Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday. Edited by *Jan Olof Rosenqvist*. 1996.
  7. *Ingela Nilsson*. Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure. Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine & Hysminias*. 2001.
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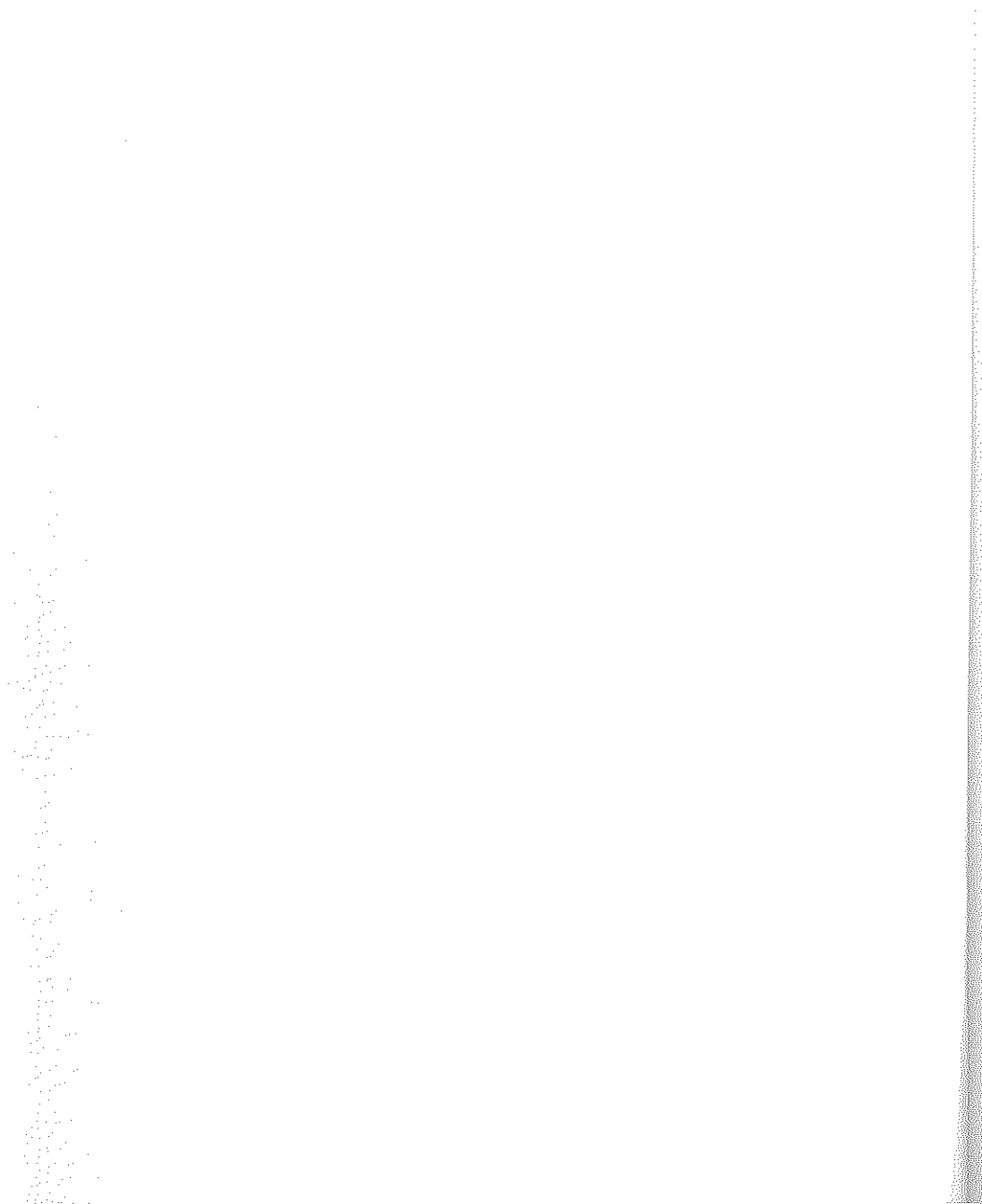
Lennart Rydén

**THE LIFE OF ST PHILARETOS  
THE MERCIFUL WRITTEN BY  
HIS GRANDSON NIKETAS**

A Critical Edition with Introduction,  
Translation, Notes, and Indices



UPPSALA 2002



Lennart Rydén

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### Abstract

Rydén, Lennart, ed., *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful*, written by his grandson Niketas. Critical edition with introduction, translation, notes, and indices. *Studia Byzantina Upsalien-sia* 8. Uppsala 2002. Ca. 143 s. ISBN 91-554-5200-0.

The *Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful*, d. 788, was written in the early 720s by his grandson Niketas, who at this time lived in exile in the Peloponnesos. It has been preserved in a great number of MSS and in several versions. The present edition is based on the Genuensis gr. 34, which can be shown to contain the version closest to the original. It is analysed in the Introduction from the points of view of historicity, literary character, grammar, style, and purpose. A number of literary motifs are pointed out and put into their proper context. The editor agrees with the suggestion that the *Vita* was written on the occasion of the marriage of Michael II (821–829) with Euphrosyne, the daughter of Niketas' cousin, the ex-queen Maria, in the hope that Michael would recall the author from his exile. Parallel with the Greek text runs an English translation with notes on various matters of importance for the proper understanding of the *Vita*. The edition ends with a grammatical index and an index of vocabulary and names.

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On two occasions I have examined the MS Genuensis gr. 34 in the Biblioteca Franzoniana at Genoa. During my visits the prefect of the library, Don Claudio Paolocci, granted me the very best working conditions, and for this I thank him cordially. I am also grateful for the service I have received from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris concerning the Parisinus gr. 1608 (P) and the University Library of Uppsala for providing me with xerox copies of this and other MSS. One of the MSS of the Bibliothèque Nationale was checked for me by Johan Heldt, and for this time-saving help I am most grateful.

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The responsibility for any remaining error lies entirely with myself.



# Bibliographical Abbreviations

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*

AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*

*Acta Joannis*, ed. Zahn = *Acta Joannis*, unter Benutzung von C.v. Tischendorf's Nachlass bearbeitet von Th. Zahn (Erlangen, 1880)

*ActDavSymGeorg* = The Acts of Saints David, Symeon and George ed. I. van den Gheyn, AB 18 (1899), 211–259

Afinogenov, "Bride-show" = D. Afinogenov, "The Bride-show for Theophilos", *Eranos* 95 (1997), 10–18

Angelidi, "Version longue" = Chr. Angelidi, "La version longue de la Vision du moine Cosmas", AB 101 (1983), 73–99

Apocalypse of Anastasia = *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, ed. R. Homburg (Leipzig, 1903)

Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire" = M.-F. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes", BS 53 (1992), 57–67

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Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honorias* = K. Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honorias* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 9) (Vienna, 1996)

Berger, *Untersuchungen* = A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos* (ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ 8) (Bonn, 1988)

Besserman, *Legend of Job* = L.L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979)

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BS = *Byzantinoslavica*

BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

Charanis, "Social Structure" = P. Charanis, "On the Social Structure of the Later Roman Empire", *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45), 39–57

Classen, *Karl der Grosse* = P. Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Sigmaringen, 1985)

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- De cer.*, ed. Reiske = *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829–30)
- De cer.*, ed. Vogt = *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935–39)
- DigAkr*, ed. Jeffreys = *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions*, ed. and trans. by El. Jeffreys (Cambridge Medieval Classics 7) (Cambridge, 1998). Quotations are from the Grottaferrata version.
- Dinzelbacher, *Jenseitsbrücke* = P. Dinzelbacher, *Die Jenseitsbrücke im Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1973)
- DOP* = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- Du Cange, *Glossarium* = C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons, 1688, repr. Paris, 1943)
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- GOrThR* = *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
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- IRAIK = *Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*
- Janin, *Constantinople* = *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964)
- JÖB = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
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- MirGeorg*, ed. Aufhauser = *Miracula S. Georgii* ed. J.B. Aufhauser (Leipzig, 1913)
- Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* = W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1977)
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- ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991)
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- OrChrAn* = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
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- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1844–80)

- PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Griffin, F. Nau (Paris, 1904–)
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- PratSpir* = John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, PG 87:3, 2852–3112
- RACr* = *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*
- ROC* = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
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- Speck, *Konstantin VI.* = P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1978)
- Speck, "Brautschau" = P. Speck, "Eine Brautschau für Staurakios?", *JÖB* 49 (1999), 25–30
- SynaxCP* = *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
- Tabachovitz, *Studien* = D. Tabachovitz, *Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor* (Uppsala, 1926)
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- Theophanes, *Chronographia* = Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I–II (Leipzig, 1883–85., repr. Hildesheim–New York, 1980)
- Thompson, *Motif-Index* = *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. Rev. and enlarged ed. by S. Thompson 1–6 (Copenhagen, 1955–58)
- Treadgold, "Bride-shows" = W. Treadgold, "The Bride-shows of the Byzantine Emperors", *Byzantion* 49 (1979), 395–413
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- VAntIun*, ed. Halkin = F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863 (d'après un texte inédit)", *AB* 62 (1944), 187–225

## 14 Bibliographical Abbreviations

- VBasilun* = The Life of St Basil the Younger as contained in the Greek MS no. 249 of the Synodal Library in Moscow, edited partly by S.G. Vilinskij in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo novorossijskogo universiteta* (Odessa, 1911), partly by A.N. Veselovskij in *Sbornik Otdela russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 46 (St. Petersburg, 1889) and 53 (1891)
- VEustrat* = The Life of St. Eustratios of Augaros ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias* IV (St. Petersburg, 1897), 367–400
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- VloEl*, ed. Festugière = The Life of St. John the Merciful, ed. A.-J. Festugière, in *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. by A.J. Festugière, L. Rydén (Paris, 1974), 257–637
- VLucSteir*, ed. Sophianou = D. Z. Sophianou, “Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς. Ὁ Βίος του”, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1993), 125–189
- VNikMedik* = the Life of Niketas of Medikion, in *AASS* April I (1866) XVIII–XXVII
- VNiph*, ed. Rystencko = the Life of Niphon, Bishop of Constantia in Egypt, ed. A.V. Rystencko, in *Materialien zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-slavischen Literatur und Sprache* (Odessa, 1928), 17–186
- VizVrem* = *Vizantijskij Vremennik*
- VPetrAtr*, ed. Laurent = *La vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa (d. 837)*, ed., trad. et comm. par V. Laurent (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 29) (Brussels, 1956)
- VPh* = The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful
- VPh*, ed. Vasiliev = A. Vasiliev, *Zhitie Filareta Milostivogo*, *IRAIK* 5 (1900) 64–86
- VPorphGaz*, ed. Grégoire–Kugener = *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, critical text, trans. and comm. by H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (Paris, 1930)
- VSymNT*, ed. Hausherr = *Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949–1022) par Nicétas Stéthatos*, ed. by I. Hausherr, *OrChrAn* 12 (Rome, 1928), 2–228
- VSymSal*, ed. Rydén = L. Rydén, *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leon-tios von Neapolis* (Uppsala, 1963)
- Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* = F. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien zur herrschenden Klasse von Byzanz im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 54) (Berlin, 1987)

# Introduction

## Summary of the text

- 5–33: Philaretos' wealth. His family. His compassion and generosity. 29 lines.
- 34–67: The devil's envy. God gives him permission to put Philaretos to the test. Philaretos' equanimity. 34 lines.
- 68–375: Despite his wife's reproaches and sarcasms, Philaretos gives away his last property, the house excepted: the yoke of oxen (68–217), the horse (218–247), the cow and the calf (248–283), the donkey and six bushels of borrowed grain (284–321), the honey (352–363), his own mantle (363–375). In addition he also gives away his share of an old friend's gift of 40 bushels of grain (330–351). 308 lines.
- 376–527: The bride-show for Constantine VI. The arrival of the imperial envoys in Amnia (376–396). Philaretos' hospitality and his neighbours' generosity. The envoys begin their investigation (397–453). Philaretos' granddaughter Maria meets the criteria for the bride-show. They all leave for Constantinople (454–473). Philaretos' children and their families (474–486). Maria and her competitors (487–496). Maria wins the bride-show and her sisters marry important persons (497–516). Her other relatives are also splendidly rewarded by the emperor (517–527). 176 lines.
- 528–600: Philaretos gives a feast for 100 beggars and teaches his offspring a lesson on charity. 73 lines.
- 601–636: Philaretos distributes money among the beggars of Constantinople with the assistance of his protovestiaros. 36 lines.
- 637–663: Philaretos buys a tomb in the monastery called Eis ten Krisin. 27 lines.
- 664–709: Philaretos gives a farewell speech, enjoining his offspring to invest their money in Paradise by giving it to the poor. 46 lines.
- 710–802: Philaretos predicts the future of his son John's children, among them Niketas, who is destined to write his Life. His death. 93 lines.
- 803–832: Philaretos' burial, during which a man possessed by an evil spirit is cured. 30 lines.
- 833–891: Niketas has a dream in which he sees his grandfather in Paradise in the guise of Abraham. 59 lines.
- 892–913: Epilogue. The author introduces himself and mentions the good deeds done by Philaretos' widow before she dies and is buried in her husband's tomb. 22 lines.

## Composition

Although in the Genoa version, which I regard as genuine,<sup>1</sup> *VPh* is said to be a *Vita*, it is not a *Vita* in the strict sense. Rather it is the story of the last few years of Philaretos' life, during which a series of dramatic events changed his own life as well as that of his family.

It is in line with this dramatic character of *VPh* that, unlike most other *Lives*, it does not begin with a prologue but starts right away with a description of Philaretos' huge wealth modelled on the beginning of the Book of Job. And as much as Job had been "true, blameless, righteous, and godley, abstaining from every evil" (Job 1:1), Philaretos was compassionate and generous. Unfortunately, as in the case of Job, Philaretos' virtues provoked the devil into asking God's permission to put him to the test. *VPh* therefore has a plot that urges the narrative on continuously, creates suspense and gives it an unusual air of consistency. Characteristically, the adverb *εἴτα* 'then', common in the folktale, is much more frequent in *VPh* than in other saints' *Lives*. It is true that the *Life of St. Leo of Catania*, which also describes a short, dramatic period in the saint's life, contains no *εἴτα*. The reason for this difference appears to be that the *Life of Leo* is written in relatively high style, whereas the style of *VPh* is as simple as that of the folktale.

In their illuminating article "The Tale of a Happy Fool", repeated in Kazhdan's *History of Byzantine Literature*, 296–302, A. Kazhdan and L.F. Sherry distinguish three different parts in *VPh*, calling them thesis, antithesis and synthesis. In the first Philaretos is put to the test by being ruined, in the second he is rehabilitated as his granddaughter Maria wins the bride-show for Constantine VI, and in the more hagiographic third part the edifying conclusion of the story is drawn. Kazhdan and Sherry emphasize the speed with which the story develops, its concentration on a single theme and its consistency. To this one may add that in this tale there is a gradual transition from fiction to reality. The first part is a folktale containing very few historical facts. The second part also has the character of a folktale, but here we learn that Philaretos lived at Amnia in Paphlagonia in the reign of Irene and her son Constantine, we learn the names of all the members of Philaretos' large family, and we also learn about the marriages of Maria's two sisters. In the third section the author has Philaretos predict the future of his son John's children, whereupon he describes Philaretos' death and

<sup>1</sup> I fully agree with Fourmy and Leroy, who demonstrated convincingly that the Genoa version represents the original, whereas the other versions result from various revisions: for these, see J.O. Rosenqvist (forthcoming).

funeral and his own vision of Philaretos in Paradise. In addition he outlines his own life with unusual precision and describes the last years of his grandmother Theosebo, who now appears as the rich aristocratic woman one expects her to be, whereas in the first section she gives the impression of being nothing but a literary invention.

Also with regard to the chronological pattern the second and third parts of the *Vita* differ from the first. In the first part there is a steady negative development from original wealth to complete economic ruin. In the second part the rapid succession of events, characterized by the frequent use of the adverb *εἴτα*, continues through the bride-show, Maria's wedding and Philaretos' triumph at the feast for the beggars. But then there follow four years during which there are no events, just a description of Philaretos' remarkable way of distributing money among the needy. When the four years have passed, Philaretos buys a tomb at the convent called *Eis ten Krisin* and after nine days falls ill, gives a farewell speech and dies. Before he dies he predicts the future of his son John's seven children, among them the author, Niketas. With these predictions the author extends the time span of the narrative by about three decades. The biography proper ends with a vision taking place three days after the burial in which Niketas sees his grandfather in Paradise, surrounded by a host of poor people dressed in white. In the epilogue that follows Niketas accounts for the important dates of his own life, including the date of composition of the *Vita*. Therefore, whereas in the first two parts the composition is straightforward, it becomes complicated in the third. This is in line with what Kazhdan and Sherry have stated, namely that the third part of *VPh* is much more hagiographic than the other two. And, as already mentioned, there is a step-by-step movement from fiction to reality.

It follows from this that *VPh* has a much tighter composition than most saints' Lives. It does not consist of a string of more or less unconnected episodes but tells a complicated story with admirable economy. This appeals to the modern reader, who also appreciates the absence of empty rhetoric and vehement polemics.

*VPh* has been characterized as a mixture of hagiography, family history, fairy-tale and romance.<sup>2</sup> Obviously, family history, hagiography and fairy-tale are important ingredients in *VPh*, but I doubt that *VPh* has anything in common with the romance, at least if by romance one understands the Greek novels written in the first four centuries AD. These novels are about love between young people, about travels, separation, adventures, and final reunion. With the wedding the novel comes to an end. But in *VPh*, Philare-

<sup>2</sup> Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, 204.

tos and Theosebo were married long before the action begins. They are not separated and reunited, there are no adventures or travels except for the transportation of the whole family to Constantinople. The only feature that is reminiscent of the Greek novel is the tempo and the step-by-step development of the narrative, in which there is no room for loosely arranged anecdotes. On the other hand, this is hardly something found only in the novel, since it is typical of any good story or tale. Neither can the bride-show be classed as a romantic feature, since it derives from the folktale rather than from the novel. Nor does it provide *VPh* with a love motif, for as the bride-show was organized by the young emperor's mother there was no premarital love affair between Constantine and Maria. For my part I would therefore omit the romance and rather say that *VPh* is a mixture of fairy-tale, family history and hagiography, in that order. The first two components have not been indicated in the title of the *Vita*, in which *VPh* is conventionally designated as a *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία*, Life and Conduct. In the Paris version edited by Vasiliev, on the other hand, it is termed a *διήγησις*,<sup>3</sup> a story that, according to the ancient rhetoricians, was characterized by clarity, brevity and probability.<sup>4</sup> This suits Vasiliev's text better, whereas the emphasis on family history in the earliest version may have been deemed incompatible with the acknowledged character of an edifying story, the Christian form of the *diegesis*. I do not agree with Kazhdan and Sherry who think it unlikely that a reviser replaced a traditional title *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία* with an uncommon "A useful tale (*διήγησις*) about the life and exploits".<sup>5</sup>

It is true that *VPh* contains a number of inconsistencies. For instance, Philaretos is mentioned as "Philaretos the Amnian" line 94, although we are not told that he lived at Amnia until line 384. At 49 a slave is mentioned whom the author then seems to forget. On the other hand, the beehives that according to 352ff. constituted Philaretos' last property are not mentioned in the catalogue of his belongings at 48f. What the author indicates with regard to the age of Philaretos and the members of his family is particularly embarrassing. At 18 his son John is said to be a little boy (*παιδάριον*) and at 195 all his children are said to be crying with their mother Theosebo who, moreover, at 323 is said to be unable to feed them. This gives the impression of a young family, although it is contradicted by the mention of a daughter-in-law at 293, which implies that John was married, and the

<sup>3</sup>Ed. Vasiliev 64 *Διήγησις πάνυ ὠφέλιμος περί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ δικαίου Φιλαρέτου τοῦ ἐλεήμονος*.

<sup>4</sup>See C. Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis*", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 6 (1998), 433–448, esp. 442.

<sup>5</sup>"Happy Fool", 352.

passing of many years according to line 26. Because of inconsistencies such as these, C. Ludwig assumes that Niketas was not so much an author as an editor who combined various sources without trying to avoid loose ends.<sup>6</sup> For my part I prefer to explain the inconsistencies with a reference to the fact that the first part of *VPh* is a tale, in part patterned on the narrative parts of the Book of Job in which the history of the family has not been fully integrated because it serves a special purpose, more on which later. Furthermore, in a tale, exactness and realism are of limited interest. What matters is visibility, tempo and suspense. There is no room for unnecessary trivial information. If a story is good enough, a few loose ends hardly matter. Niketas certainly exploited existing literary motifs, but he did it in a creative way that by far compensates for his neglect of precision.

## Philaretos and his family

It is clear that the tale of Philaretos' foolhardy generosity, the bride-show story and hagiographical elements such as the miracle occurring at Philaretos' funeral and Niketas' dream three days later contain few hard facts, whereas the personal curriculum vitae and the family history drawn up in the predictions Niketas puts in Philaretos' mouth are likely to correspond to reality.

Philaretos and his family moved to Constantinople in 788 when his granddaughter Maria married Constantine VI. Four years later Philaretos died and was buried in the convent *Eis ten Krisin* which, for unknown reasons, he had chosen as his burial place.<sup>7</sup> At that time his grandson Niketas was seven years old (line 835). As Niketas says that he was born on St. Theodore's day (773–74), he was most probably born in February, 785. To judge from Philaretos' predictions his parents and brothers and sisters were all dead at the time he wrote the *Vita* (753–54).

According to the version published by Vasiliev, Philaretos was 90 years old when he died (Vasiliev 83,20). It is therefore generally believed that Philaretos was born in the year 702.<sup>8</sup> The Genoa version, however, does not tell how old Philaretos was when he died nor specify the year when he was born. A close reading of the family tree drawn up line 475ff. and of

<sup>6</sup> *Sonderformen* 158 and elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> On this convent, see Auzépy, "De Philarète", 127–130. Perhaps *Eis ten Krisin* had Paphlagonian connections, so that Philaretos wanted to be buried there for this reason.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., *ODB*, 1650.



Philaretos' predictions lines 710–91 in fact indicates that he was not born before c. 720 and that he was only about 65 or 70 when he died.

At the time of the bride-show Philaretos' father George (line 7) must have been dead for many years. The other members of his family were the following:

	Philaretos with wife Theosebo	
John w. wife Irene	Hypatia, a widow	Euanthia w. husband Michael
Children:	Children:	Children:
Bardas	Maria	Anthis
Eustathios	Myranthia	Niketas
Niketas	Euanthia	Petros
Philaretos	Petronas	Philaretos
Helene		Kosmou
Euphemia		Hypatia
Hypatia		

John is Philaretos' first-born son (line 482). As there are no brothers this probably means that he was born before his sisters. In the enumeration of his seven children all the sons, among them Niketas, are mentioned before all the daughters. The same applies to the enumeration of Euanthia's six children. Presumably, the order between the brothers and the sisters taken separately is chronological, whereas the order between the brothers and sisters taken together is not. In the case of Hypatia's children the daughters are mentioned first, apparently because Maria as the bride of Constantine VI is the most important child. It does not necessarily mean that Petronas was younger than all his sisters. It is also worth noting that although John is mentioned before his sisters in the enumeration of Philaretos' children, in the enumeration of his grandchildren Maria and her sisters and brother come first.

Niketas' youngest sister Hypatia was already dead when Philaretos died in 792/93, for after Philaretos' death Niketas dreamt that he saw his grandfather sitting on a throne in Paradise with his sister on his lap. He does not mention his sister by name, but she must have been Hypatia, for he describes her as a little newly baptized (if that is what νεόφωτος means) child who died recently (lines 857–60). Already in the 7th century children were often baptized forty days after their birth, as became the rule in the 10th century.<sup>9</sup> This indicates that Hypatia was probably born in 792, in any case

<sup>9</sup> See Auzépy, *Vie d'Etienne le Jeune*, 186, note 37, with further lit.

not earlier than 790–791. She is not mentioned in connection with the blessings Philaretos gave when he lay on his deathbed, a further indication that she was dead at that time. That she is mentioned in connection with the bride-show indicates that the family tree drawn up above may also include other children not yet born in November, 788.

As John's fourth son Philaretos was younger than Niketas and obviously elder than Hypatia, he was probably born sometime in the years 786–790.<sup>10</sup> In addition to Philaretos there is room for one more birth between Niketas and Hypatia. It is tempting to assume that Helene and Euphemia were twins, for at 780 they are said to be *πρῶται*, which must mean that they were the eldest among John's daughters, since Bardas is said to be his first-born (line 713). Bardas is therefore likely to have been born c. 780 or a couple of years later, whereas Eustathios on the one hand and Helene and Euphemia on the other were born either c. 783 or in the years 786–790, respectively. Helene and Euphemia are said to have entered the same convent and to have died there after twelve years (lines 786–90). For girls, the minimum age for the final profession was 16 years.<sup>11</sup> This indicates that if they were born c. 783 they took the vows c. 800 and died c. 812 and that if they were born between 786 and 790 they took the vows between 802 and 806 and died between 814 and 818. As to Bardas, Philaretos prayed to God that he would have children and perpetuate the family. Niketas adds that this came true. Among John's and Irene's children Bardas alone lived in wedlock, becoming the father of seven children (lines 713–16). This indicates that he was not yet married in 792.

Eustathios died in his 24th year (lines 718–32) after he had distributed his inheritance among the poor and spent one year repenting his sins. He therefore appears to have died either c. 807 or between 810 and 814, at a time when his father was dead. As Niketas says of himself that he ran away from home and became a monk ten years after the death of his grandfather (892–97), John possibly died as early as 802 or even earlier.

Now, if Bardas was born c. 780, his father John is likely to have been born in the early 750's and his aunts Hypatia and Euanthia before 760. In 788 Hypatia was a widow. She had produced four children, one son, Petronas, and three daughters, Maria, Myranthia and Euanthia, of whom at least Maria was of marriageable age in 788. In connection with his sister's wedding Petronas, like his uncle John, became a *spatharios* and member of the

<sup>10</sup> Giannopoulos, "Παρατηρήσεις", note 23, thinks that Philaretos the younger died in 820, apparently taking the phrase *πρὸ χρόνου 740* to mean 'a year ago' from the point of view of the date of composition (821/22). But to judge from the context he certainly died much earlier.

<sup>11</sup> See *ODB* s.v. Nun.

imperial guard (lines 553–55). Probably he was therefore older than his sisters, although he is last on the list. When Maria was married to Constantine VI, Constantine was seventeen years and ten months old, as he was born in January, 771. Maria is of course unlikely to have been older than her husband.<sup>12</sup> One may therefore assume that she was born c. 773 and about 15 years old when she married. Myranthia may have been born c. 775 and Euanthia c. 777.

From lines 504–516 one gets the impression that Myranthia and Euanthia were married almost at the same time as Maria.<sup>13</sup> But this has simply to do with Niketas' narrative technique, which requires that everything happen quickly. In reality at least Euanthia was married a few years later, which also suits her age, as hypothesized above, better. Niketas says that she was married to the king of the Lombards, whom he calls Argouses (line 515). No Lombard king with this name is known. Vasiliev therefore identified him with Arechis, the duke of Benevento in Italy. This is impossible, however, for Arechis already had a wife, a woman called Adelberga, and, moreover, died in August, 787, more than one year before Maria's wedding. It is now generally believed that Niketas mixed up Arechis with his son Grimoald. According to Erchempert's *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, written in the 9th century, Grimoald married a niece of the *augustus Achivorum* called Wantia, and this girl is believed to be no other than Maria's sister Euanthia.<sup>14</sup> P. Classen suggests 791 as a likely date for Euanthia's wedding.<sup>15</sup>

Nothing is known of Maria's sister Myranthia, except that she was married to a patrikios called Konstantinakios. Nor is anything known of Philaretos' second daughter Euanthia, her husband Michael and their six children.

In any case, it seems clear that Philaretos cannot have been 90 years old when he died (and 86 at the time of the bride-show!). Rather he was born in the 720's or perhaps even c. 730 and died when he was about 65 or 70. His wife Theosebo may have been born c. 735. She survived her husband, al-

<sup>12</sup> Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, I, 291, note 509, suggests that Maria was born c. 770, which would imply that she was older than Constantine. Unfortunately, he does not discuss this detail.

<sup>13</sup> For this reason H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," *DOP*, 16 (1967), 141–193, esp. 148, note 30, doubts that Euanthia was married to Grimoald, since such a marriage would not suit the political situation in 788/89. But the marriage surely took place a few years later, see below.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. G. Waitz in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX* (Hannover, 1878), 231–264, esp. 236, 20–21: *Hac etiam tempestate idem Grimoalt neptem augusti Achivorum in coniugium sumpsit nomine Wantiam.*

<sup>15</sup> Classen, *Karl der Grosse*, 33. See also Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, 631, note 177.

though for how long we are not told. She now appears as the rich, aristocratic and charitable woman one expects her to be, whereas in the first section ('thesis') she is a simple, angry and sarcastic housewife, apparently intended to provide a contrast to the innocent and economically careless Philaretos.

The fate of Maria is relatively well known. Her marriage did not last long. After six years Constantine forced her to enter a monastery together with her daughters Irene and Euphrosyne, so that he could marry his mistress Theodote instead. The monastery was on the island of Prinkipo, where she probably spent the rest of her life. She corresponded with Theodore the Studite.<sup>16</sup> Maria's letters have not been preserved, but to judge from those written by Theodore, Maria was a convinced iconophile. The last of them, no. 514, was written at the time Euphrosyne married Michael II. She must therefore have lived to be at least 50.

There seems to have been a common belief that Maria spent her years in the monastery copying manuscripts. According to a note in the first of the paper leaves added to the beginning of codex no. 2 of the monastery τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου on Mount Athos, this manuscript, containing the Acts, the Epistles of the Apostles and the Revelation of St John, was written by the ex-queen Maria in the year 800.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, codex no. 48 of the same monastery, dated to the 19th century and containing scholia on the Acts, is said to have been copied from a manuscript written by Maria. Lampros, *op. cit.* 25, quotes a note saying: "Σχόλια εἰς τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων σωζόμενα ἐν παλαιῷ μεμβραίνῳ τεύχῃ (sic) χειρογράφῳ τῆς αἰδιμένου Μαρίας βασιλίσσης Ῥωμαίων". Chr. Loparev, who wrote about the first of these manuscripts, found it not quite unlikely that Maria as a nun devoted herself to calligraphy, although he rightly warned that the evidence is both doubtful (Hagios Paulos no. 2 does not look like a manuscript written in 800) and meagre.<sup>18</sup> On the basis of further investigation, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus concluded that Hagios Paulos no. 2 was written in the 11th century, that the *basilissa* Maria mentioned in the manuscript was not its writer but its recipient, and that this Maria should be identified with Maria of Alania.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, nos. 227, 309 and 514.

<sup>17</sup> See Sp. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I (Cambridge, 1895), 19.

<sup>18</sup> Chr. Loparev, "Description of some Greek Saints' Lives", *VizVrem*, 4 (1897), 337–401, esp. 350f., note 2.

<sup>19</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Ἀνύπαρκτος κώδιξ Μαρίας βασιλίσσης τοῦ 800-ου ἔτους", *BZ*, 14 (1905), 260–270.

Euanthia's marriage was as unhappy as that of Maria. After just a few years Grimoald divorced her, probably in 795 when Constantine divorced Maria and Euanthia was no longer of political use.<sup>20</sup> What became of her thereafter is unknown, except that she seems to have been sent back to Constantinople.<sup>21</sup>

Of Constantine and Maria's daughters, Irene seems to have been the eldest and to have died young,<sup>22</sup> whereas Euphrosyne was married to Michael II c. 822, when she was about 30 years old. In 830, after Michael's death, she withdrew to a monastery probably founded by herself, the so-called Libadion tes kyras Euphrosynes, in which she was also buried, along with her parents and sister.<sup>23</sup>

D.J. Constantelos observes that there are many names from Greek antiquity among Philaretos' offspring, although the church encouraged its faithful to give their children names of canonized saints.<sup>24</sup> A.-M. Auzépy also notes that the names of the saints are poorly represented in this material. Instead, four of Philaretos' offspring have names containing forms of the word *ἄνθος* 'flower' which, she remarks, was a common type of name during the Isaurian epoch, when the emperors, Constantine V in particular, discouraged the cult of the saints.<sup>25</sup> This could be taken as an indication that Philaretos and his family supported iconoclasm. It would probably be safer, however, to assume that icons did not matter much to Philaretos and that the family's choice of names was opportunistic rather than ideological. It is also worth noting that the name Hypatia appears three times. This may very well have to do with the fact that Gangra, to which Amnia belonged, was associated with the legendary bishop St. Hypatios.

John's eldest son has an Armenian name, Bardas. Moreover, another grandson is called Petronas, which is reminiscent of Caesar Bardas' younger brother Petronas. That these two brothers belonged to an Armenian family is well known. One may also think of the unhappy theme soldier to whom Philaretos gave his last horse. In the Genoa version he is called Basileios (line 223), but this may be *lectio faciliior* for the Armenian Μουσῆλος or Μουσούλος (sic in the text ed. by Vasiliev, 70,11) that

<sup>20</sup> See V. von Falkenhausen, "I longobardi meridionali", in *Storia d'Italia*, III, 251–364, esp. 260.

<sup>21</sup> Erchempert, ed. cit. 236,22–23 *In tantum enim odium primus eorum avidus prorupit amor, ut...more Hebraico sponte eam a se sequestraret; dato ei libello repudii, ad proprios lares eam vi transvexit.*

<sup>22</sup> Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene*, 265, note 109, suggests that Irene was older than Euphrosyne, since she had been named after their grandmother.

<sup>23</sup> See Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 647 and Auzépy, "De Philarète", 118–119.

<sup>24</sup> "Classical Heritage", 110.

<sup>25</sup> "De Philarète", 121.

appears in the other versions. Clearly, the family lived in an area with many Armenian inhabitants. On the other hand, neither Philaretos nor his father George nor his wife Theosebo had Armenian names. It may therefore be, as suggested to me by Stamatina McGrath, that Bardas received his name from a godfather or because of some other local connection. It is true that W. Treadgold identifies Philaretos' son John with an Armenian patrician and strategos, who was married to a woman called Irene and father of a nun called Euphrosyne who received a letter from Theodore the Studite, in 823 according to Treadgold. He concludes that the whole family was Armenian.<sup>26</sup> However, G. Fatouros demonstrates that the name of this man was not John but Isaakios and that he therefore was a different person.<sup>27</sup> This solution has the advantage of not forcing us to add a fourth daughter to the list of John's children found in *VPh*, none of whom is called Euphrosyne. Therefore there is no proof that Philaretos' family was Armenian, although an Armenian origin remains a possibility.

At last a brief survey of Philaretos' family with approximative dates.

Philaretos, probably born c. 725, dead 792, with wife Theosebo, perhaps born 730–35. She survived her husband with an unknown number of years.

Children:

John, probably born in the early 750s and dead perhaps in 802 or even earlier. Children:

Bardas, born c. 780, married and father of seven children.

Eustathios, born c. 783 or between 786 and 790, dead at age 24.

Niketas, born 785, dead after 821/22.

Philaretos, probably born between 786 and 790, dead either c. 807 or between 810 and 814.

Helene and Euphemia, possibly twins, born c. 783 or 786–90, dead either c. 812 or between 814 and 818.

Hypatia, born c. 790–92, dead 792, at the latest.

Hypatia, probably born c. 755, widowed before 788. Children:

Maria, probably born c. 773, dead after 823, married to Constantine VI in 788. Two daughters, Irene and Euphrosyne. The former may have been born in 789–90 and Euphrosyne, who married Michael II in 822/23, may have been born in 791–92. Irene seems to have died young, whereas Euphrosyne lived long after the death of her husband in 829.

<sup>26</sup> *Byzantine Revival*, 432f., note 375.

<sup>27</sup> *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, I, 205, note 213.

Myranthia, probably born c. 775, married the patrikios Konstantinakios in 788 or somewhat later.

Euanthia, probably born c. 777, married Grimoald of Benevento c. 791.

Petronas, born c. 771, spatharios and member of the imperial guard.

Euanthia, probably born between 755 and 760, with husband Michael. Six children: Anthis, Niketas, Petros, Philaretos, Kosmou, Hypatia. Nothing further is known of this family.

The dates of birth are uncertain for at least three reasons. First, we do not know when exactly the parents were married. Second, more children than Niketas enumerates are likely to have been born, although he does not mention them because they died at a tender age. Third, some of the children mentioned may, like Hypatia, have been born after Maria was married in 788.

## Philaretos' social status

Was Philaretos' father George a simple farmer and Philaretos himself a selfmade man whose wealth was of his own making, or was he born into an aristocratic, already wealthy family? Most scholars seem to favour the former alternative. L. Bréhier saw Philaretos' father as a simple ploughman ("laboureur").<sup>28</sup> To my mind, however, one should not make too much of the pun Γεωργίου – γεωργός, for Γεωργίου τοῦ φερωνύμου (line 7) means no more than 'George, a farmer as the name says', implying that Philaretos' father did not have a state function or a title but was a landowner and nothing more.<sup>29</sup> Of course, this does not prevent us from assuming that Philaretos managed to add new land to the property he had inherited. P. Charanis argued from the fact that, when he had lost all his property, Philaretos was not afraid of cultivating himself what was left of his fields.<sup>30</sup> To this one may object that when Philaretos puts his hand to

<sup>28</sup> "Populations rurales", 180.

<sup>29</sup> Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 149, understands the phrase differently, translating: "der seinen Namen Georgios, vom hl. Georg, dem Drachenkämpfer abgeleitet, zu Recht trug". This would indicate that to Niketas' mind Philaretos' father was a valiant mounted warrior (although not a dragon killer, since this belongs to a later legend). That he was named after the saint, who was popular in Paphlagonia (see *MirGeorg*, ed. Aufhauser, 18), is highly probable, but here it seems more likely that Niketas makes a pun on γεωργός 'farmer' than that he compares his great-grandfather to St. George.

<sup>30</sup> Charanis, "Social Structure", 44.

the plough he assumes the appearance of a folktale character, which is quite in line with this part of the story. J. Nesbitt is of the opinion that the word εὐγενής 'noble' refers to Philaretos' new wealth rather than to the social class of his ancestors. Philaretos had himself increased his property so that he eventually owned estates in Pontos and Galatia as well as in Paphlagonia.<sup>31</sup> Admittedly, this understanding would fit the statement "and the more he gave away, the more his possessions multiplied" (lines 32–33), referring to the period in Philaretos' life that preceded the pact between God and the devil that permitted the latter to put Philaretos to the test. On the other hand, in this context εὐγενής certainly derives from the Book of Job 1:3, which makes it hard to believe that it merely refers to wealth. A. Kazhdan, it is true, assumes that Philaretos inherited his wealth from his father, although, on the other hand, he thinks that Niketas exaggerates "in order to show how drastic was his material downfall". He regards Niketas' picture of his grandfather as a noble landowner and the son of a well-off peasant as unreliable, adding that in hagiographical texts εὐγενής primarily refers to high moral standard,<sup>32</sup> which, however, is unlikely in this context, where the author alludes to the beginning of the Book of Job. According to M. Kaplan, finally, "la famille de Philarète est sans doute de fortune récente", since he still knows how to plough with oxen.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand he observes that Philaretos differs from his fellow villagers by having a different lifestyle, and this, I think, is important. Philaretos' house looked like the house of a μεγαστάν or a δυνάστης (386f.; 394).<sup>34</sup> As it is said to be old (line 386) he is likely to have inherited it. In the dining-room there was an old table inlaid with gold and ivory that could seat 36 men (lines 418–20). His son and daughters and grandchildren all lived in his house, and his granddaughters never left their κουβούκλιον (line 456f.).<sup>35</sup> Philaretos welcomed the imperial envoys with exquisite politeness (397ff.). He and the whole clan accompanied Maria when she was brought to Constantinople for the bride-show (471–73). Arrived in the capital Philaretos obviously had no difficulty in adjusting to life at the imperial court, although he refused to put on a silken shirt, wear gold around his waist and to accept a higher position than that of consul (637–39). Moreover, when a poor peas-

<sup>31</sup> Nesbitt, "Life of Philaretos", 152f.

<sup>32</sup> "Happy Fool", 358. See also Kazhdan, "Agrarian History", 81.

<sup>33</sup> *Hommes et terre*, 222.

<sup>34</sup> The manor house of a rich landowner in Asia Minor may have consisted of a complex of buildings grouped around a central courtyard, although in the case of Philaretos it apparently consisted of one large building, cf. Magdalino, "Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*", 96f.

<sup>35</sup> On the question of seclusion of women in Byzantium, see Kazhdan, "Women at Home", 2–10.



ant at Amnia lost his ox he was in despair because he could neither pay his debts nor his taxes to the emperor (line 88f.), whereas when Philaretos had become ruined a tax collector (δουλευτής) sent him forty bushels of grain (lines 330–33). Furthermore, despite many embarrassing situations Philaretos never lost his face. All this bears witness to Philaretos' high status and good upbringing in a noble family. It is true that Niketas writes hagiography and a good story rather than history. On the other hand it seems unlikely that everything is fiction. To my mind the ruin of Philaretos, as described in the first half of the *Vita*, is a tale, whereas what we are told of his wealth and nobility should be taken more seriously.<sup>36</sup> After all, the Empress Irene would hardly have married her son, who had been betrothed to Charlemagne's daughter Rothrud, to the daughter of a simple farmer.

## The Life of Philaretos and the Book of Job

Like the Book of Job VPh has no prologue but begins straightaway with a description of Philaretos' wealth.<sup>37</sup> This description is strongly reminiscent of the Book of Job 1:3. According to the Septuagint,

Job owned	whereas Philaretos had
7000 sheep	12000 sheep
3000 camels	800 horses in the pastures
500 yoke of oxen	100 yoke of oxen
500 she-asses in the pastures	800 oxen
	80 saddle horses and mules
a great many servants	many slaves
large tilled lands	48 separate estates

The main differences are that, as expected, Philaretos had horses and mules instead of camels and asses, and that he had no fewer than 48 separate estates, whereas Job's landed property seems to have been less fragmented. The large number of horses in the pastures suggests that Philaretos bred horses for the army.<sup>38</sup> The reason why he had so many (probably rather

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, 630, note 167: "Wenn man in der *Vita* die Märchenelemente abzieht, kommt immerhin so etwas heraus, das man als grossen Lantadel bezeichnen könnte". See also H. Köpstein in F. Winkelmann et al., *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus* (Berlin, 1978), 63 and Auzépy, "De Philarète", 120.

<sup>37</sup> The prologue that appears in the later versions has clearly been added to make *VPh* conform to the usual hagiographic pattern.

<sup>38</sup> See Evert-Kappesova, "Une grande propriété", 35.

small) estates in separate places may have been lack of water; farming was possible only in areas where there was sufficient water supply (lines 12–13 “in front of each farm there was a well gushing forth from a hilltop”).<sup>39</sup> The figures may not be exact — Niketas was only three years old when he left Amnia and at the time of composition he lived in isolation at Karyoupolis. On the other hand, it is clear that the enumeration is not a mere copy of the biblical model but has a plausible contemporary profile.

Philaretos himself is said to have been εὐγενῆς τῶν ἀπὸ Πόντου καὶ Γαλατικῆς χώρας (6–7), just as Job had been εὐγενῆς τῶν ἀφ’ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν (Book of Job 1:3). He further resembles Job in that he does not renounce the world, does not pray all the time, does not abstain from food and drink, sleep on the floor or devote himself to any other form of asceticism. Like Job he is married, has children and, while remaining blameless, lives a perfectly normal family life. To a certain extent, as a family man Philaretos anticipates the married female saints appearing later in the Middle Byzantine period,<sup>40</sup> except that these women, despite their married status, were mostly both ascetic and unhappy.

Job and Philaretos are both wealthy, although, as we have seen, their assets are slightly different in character. Both men are also virtuous, although here the difference becomes more evident. Job’s main virtue is his righteousness, whereas Philaretos is first of all generous, in the second place humble, which of course does not exclude the possibility that he may have all the other virtues as well.<sup>41</sup> From what follows it appears that both men are able to bear suffering, although Job’s suffering is incomparably more severe than that of Philaretos and, what is more, Philaretos’ suffering is largely self-inflicted. Here, however, a crucial difference between Job and Philaretos appears, for, unlike Philaretos, Job complains and demands that God explain to him why he, a just and innocent man, should be subjected to such suffering. His indignation is understandable, for, as Professor Bertil

<sup>39</sup> See Nesbitt, “Life of Philaretos”, 157. I doubt, however, that Philaretos’ holdings were scattered all over Pontos, Paphlagonia and Galatia, as Nesbitt suggests. If so, he must have travelled around a great deal, like the medieval landowners in the west, something that is neither mentioned nor hinted at in the Vita. If he had owned estates in all these areas he would not have been forced to go to a “far country” in order to borrow grain (286–7). It is true, however, that the landowners of Late Antiquity often had estates in various provinces. Thus the estates belonging to the family of Gregory of Nyssa are said to have been distributed over many provinces (perhaps three or four, see Maraval’s note ad loc.); see *The Life of Saint Makrina*, ed. and tr. by P. Maraval in the *Sources Chrétiennes* 178 (1971), 158f. διὰ τὸ ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἔθνεσιν αὐτῆς (Makrina’s mother’s) κατεσπάρθαι τὴν κτῆσιν.

<sup>40</sup> See on these Patlagean, “Femme déguisée” and Talbot, “Family Cults,” esp. 68.

<sup>41</sup> In addition to ἐλεήμων Philaretos is said to be δίκαιος (116, 129, 576), φιλόθεος (186, 397), φιλάρετος (114, 186), φιλόξενος (397), and his διάκρισις and ταπείνωσις are emphasized (160).

Albrektson has explained to me, the belief in resurrection is alien to the Hebrew Book of Job. Quite naturally, therefore, Job required justice to be done in this life, otherwise it would be too late. Philaretos, on the other hand, accepts his fate gladly, not so much because his suffering is limited to economic ruin as because he is convinced that his ruin is temporary, that with his seemingly unwise generosity he is in fact making investments for the future, both in this life and in the afterlife. Whereas Job is a heroic figure, Philaretos is a happy investor. Philaretos is once called a new Job, it is true (313), but he is far from a mere copy of his Old Testament model.

As in the Book of Job, after a short description of the background the devil manages to obtain God's permission to put the blameless man to the test. Here Niketas refers openly to the Book of Job (35). In both cases the devil, called adversary in the Hebrew Book of Job, argues that it takes no effort to be virtuous when everything is going well.

Philaretos' trials do not go further than his becoming poor. He finds his poverty easy to bear for, unlike his wife, he considers it to be just a temporary inconvenience in a long-term investment program. For the sake of the argument it would have sufficed to say that Philaretos was ruined by his generosity when God ceased to compensate him. But in order to make him lose his property quicker the devil also makes use of Arab razzias and other pretexts (46). But he does not strike Philaretos with illness, as he did with Job, nor does he kill his children. And Philaretos remains happy all the time.

In the Book of Job the economic ruin comes earlier. The death of Job's children is mentioned already at 1:18. Job stands the test and praises God. Then there follows a new pact between God and the adversary, who is now permitted to attack Job's body as well, although he is not allowed to take his life. In *VPh* there is no second pact, and Philaretos does not end up sitting among the ashes, afflicted with loathsome sores.

Job's wife is not mentioned until 2:9, and she has no name. According to the Revised Standard Version she says to her husband, "Curse God and die!" whereas according to the Septuagint she is a little less outspoken and says, "Say a word to God, and die!" In any case, Job rebukes her for saying such foolish things. In *VPh*, on the other hand, the wife is given a name and she plays a much more prominent role, although she does not tell Philaretos to accuse God. Instead she is sarcastic in a way that has no counterpart in the Book of Job.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> As Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 164, observes, in certain respects Theosebo instead has a predecessor in Job's wife as she is described in the so-called *Testament of Job*.

The only person in *VPh* that is somewhat evocative of Job's friends in the Book of Job is the old friend who, on hearing of Philaretos' ruin, sends him forty bushels of grain (330ff.). He does not appear in person, however, eager to discuss the question why Philaretos has suffered his losses. A discussion of this kind, central to the Book of Job, is meaningless in *VPh*, for Philaretos does not feel that God has treated him unjustly. And since Philaretos does not rebel against God, God does not have to speak to him as he spoke to Job.

Only once is Philaretos said to be "the new Job" (313). When the beggar is unable to carry away at once all the six bushels of grain that he has received from Philaretos, grain that, because of a famine, Philaretos himself has borrowed and brought home from a far place, he says to "the new Job": "Let me take the bushels two at a time", whereupon Theosebo becomes ironic and exhorts Philaretos to give him the ass as well. And so Philaretos does (285-321). It is remarkable that the phrase "the new Job" appears in this particular episode, which has no counterpart in the Book of Job. In fact the words ἐλεημοσύνη and ἐλεήμων do not appear in the Septuagint version of the Book of Job, nor does Job's wife make fun of him.

In the end Job was rehabilitated, became richer than ever, begot ten new children and lived another 140 years; according to the Septuagint he became 248 years old. Philaretos is also rehabilitated, although he dies after only four years. His wife survives him, returns for a while to her native village but dies at Constantinople and is buried in her husband's tomb.

To sum up, *VPh* has the following in common with the Book of Job: the in-medias-res beginning, the man's wealth, the fact that he is married and has children, that he is put to the test by the devil, who ruins him, and that he stands the test and is rehabilitated.

The main difference between Philaretos and Job is that Philaretos is generous in the first place, whereas Job's main virtue is his righteousness. And whereas Philaretos is contented, convinced as he is that all will end well, Job feels that God has treated him unfairly and therefore demands an explanation. In *VPh* there is nothing corresponding to the poetic disputation on innocent suffering that dominates the Book of Job.

It should be added that the picture of Philaretos as a harmless new Job is typical of the references to the Book of Job in Byzantine literature, in which Job has lost all his rebelliousness and become nothing more than a

model of patient suffering.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the sufferings described in this literature are most often trivial in comparison with those of Job.

## Abraham and Jacob as models for Philaretos

As Philaretos corresponds to Job only in part, Niketas compensates for this by referring to other biblical models as well, to Abraham in the first place but also to Jacob. With regard to his hospitality Philaretos is said to resemble Abraham (25 and 423–24).<sup>44</sup> Also with regard to his looks he is said to resemble Abraham (424–25). Before he dies Philaretos, like Abraham (Gen. 23), buys a tomb (656–59). On his deathbed he enjoins his offspring to give generously to the poor, and in so doing invest their wealth in heaven. The poor will bring it there and hand it over to him, who in turn will keep account of it (687–90). In Niketas' paradise vision at the end of the *Vita* it turns out that Abraham looks exactly like Philaretos (865–71).

At 25 Philaretos, with regard to his generosity and hospitality, is compared not only to Abraham, which is natural, but also to Jacob, a less obvious comparison. Towards the end of *VPh* Niketas refers to Jacob three more times, now with more evident reason. At 672–73 the whole family mourn for the dying Philaretos, as Jacob's children mourned for their father, presumably referring to Gen. 50:1 "And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept on him, and kissed him". At 711–12 the dying Philaretos orders his son John to bring his sons to him so that he might bless them as Jacob had ordered Joseph to bring him his sons (Gen. 48:9). And at 764–65 Philaretos is said to have loved his grandson Niketas as Jacob had loved Joseph (cf. Gen. 3–4).

Of course, these references to three different Old Testament models do not imply that Niketas' portrait of his grandfather is inconsistent. They only show that it took more than one biblical comparison to do justice to the range and complexity of Philaretos' character.

<sup>43</sup> For the similar reception of the Book of Job in the medieval west, see Besserman, *Legend of Job*.

<sup>44</sup> Niketas does not refer to the Book of Job 31:32, where Job prides himself on his hospitality.

## Was Philaretos a happy fool?

S.V. Poljakova has drawn a parallel between Philaretos and the happy fool of the Russian folktale.<sup>45</sup> For instance, to return to an episode already mentioned, when Amnia is struck by famine, Philaretos takes his donkey and goes to a happier place to borrow grain. When he returns, the donkey laden with two sacks containing three bushels of grain each, a beggar appears, asking for one handful of grain. Philaretos orders his wife who, assisted by her maid, is already sifting it, to give the beggar one bushel. She answers by demanding that the grain should be apportioned among the members of the family, herself receiving one bushel, their three children one bushel each, and their daughter-in-law and the maid likewise one bushel each. When Philaretos wonders why he should not receive anything, Theosebo answers that he is an angel and therefore does not need food, or else he would not have gone so many miles to borrow grain only to give it away. Getting more and more irritated she tells Philaretos to give the beggar two bushels, then the whole sack, then the other sack, and at last the donkey as well. Philaretos gladly does exactly as he is told, and so his whole expedition, undertaken to feed his family, turns out to have been in vain (285–321). In this episode, as in many others, Philaretos seemingly behaves like a happy fool, gladly giving away his property without thinking of the consequences. Theosebo on her part plays the role of the angry housewife, also a well-known folktale character.

That Theosebo is a folktale stereotype, at least until she is transformed into an aristocratic lady at the end of the *Vita*, is clear.<sup>46</sup> In any case the negative impression one gets of her from the first section of *VPh* is unlikely to correspond to how she was remembered within the family. The picture of Philaretos is more complex. Foolhardy generosity is not the only reason why he ends up destitute. The author himself hints that the real reasons why Philaretos became impoverished were the razzias of the Arabs and the greed of neighbouring magnates (45–55). Neither the devil nor the villa-

<sup>45</sup> See Poljakova, "Fol'klornyj sjuzhet", and also Kazhdan and Sherry, "Happy Fool", 359f. I wish to thank Irène Sorlin and S. Rydå for having made the contents of Poljakova's article available to me.

<sup>46</sup> Philaretos' excuse for having lost his ox at 133ff. is reminiscent of the story of Theopistos and his wife Eusebeia in *MirGeorg*, ed. Aufhauser 44–46, esp. 45f.: Theopistos went with his slaves to plough the fields. When the oxen needed to graze, the men lay down and fell asleep, whereupon the oxen disappeared. A later version, printed below the main version, says that the men lay down because of the midday heat, cf. ἐν τῷ καύματι τοῦ ἡλίου *VPh* 133–34. The point of this story is different from that of *VPh*, and Eusebeia does not rebuke Theopistos and call him ἀκαμάτα 'idler' as Theosebo does. It would seem, therefore, that Niketas combines two motifs, one appearing in *MirGeorg*, the other in the folktale.

gers regard him as a fool. They speak of his ἀπλότης (36, 193, 598), but in this context ἀπλότης means generosity, not stupidity. When the imperial envoys arrive in Amnia, the elders of the village warn them that Philaretos' magnificent old house, at which they want to put up, is empty, but they do not say that it is owned by a fool (390–92). And, in fact, far from behaving like a fool, Philaretos receives them with impeccable politeness. Later the elders bring him rams, hens, pigeons and wine so that he can entertain his distinguished guests properly (412–15). Furthermore, the διοικητής does not think that Philaretos has changed but still regards him as the same old friend (330ff.). And the soldier who receives Philaretos' last horse praises the Lord and blesses the venerable man (244f.). At 196f. Theosebo and her children regret that they ever made this man's acquaintance,<sup>47</sup> but they do not call him a fool. At 347–51 the children ask him why he does not take out all the money he keeps saying that he has hidden in a safe place, although they do not press him. After Philaretos has been rehabilitated they say to him, "Being just you have justly shown mercy, whereas we, being foolish, have been carried away by our foolishness and been angry with you" (576–79). This is the only instance a word for foolishness appears in *VPh*.

In his generosity, Philaretos is similar to a certain number of other saints who likewise excelled in spectacular generosity. In the reign of Decius there was bishop on Crete called Myron. Before he became bishop he was a wealthy and married farmer who gave from his harvests to the needy, and the more he gave away, the more his harvests abounded.<sup>48</sup> Once he surprised twelve robbers as they were stealing his grain. But instead of trying to stop them he helped them to put sacks laden with grain on their backs so that they could carry away what they had stolen.<sup>49</sup> The patriarch John the Almsgiver of Alexandria is another example. One day he was approached by the same beggar three times, but although he recognized him, he took no notice but gave him money each time. This makes John look, if not like a fool, so at least like a very naive giver.<sup>50</sup> But, as appears from other stories, he was not naive at all for, like Philaretos, he knew that he would soon be

<sup>47</sup> κακῶς ἐγνωρίσαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον. The version edited by Vasiliev, which I regard as secondary, adds: τὸν σαλογέροντα καὶ μισότεκνον "the old fool who hates his children". In the Genoa version Philaretos' children never use such words.

<sup>48</sup> For this feature, cf. also *VBasilun* fol. 29v, ed. Vilinskij 300,4–6 ὅσον γὰρ ὁ ὅσιος τὰ ἐρχόμενα πρὸς αὐτὸν διεσκόρπισε, τοσοῦτον οἱ παραγενόμενοι καὶ ταῦτα κομίζοντες καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπληθύνοντο.

<sup>49</sup> *SynaxCP*, col. 875.

<sup>50</sup> *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. and trans. by A.J. Festugière (Paris, 1974), ch. 7. A similar story is told of the pope Gregory the Great, d. 604, see *SynaxCP* 531–32, 33–40.

recompensed by the Lord. In addition, John's biographer Leontios mentions a *θερμοδότης*, a servant bringing hot water, who followed John's example and gave away freely of his limited resources, convinced that God would recompense him, and this always came true.<sup>51</sup> Two hagiographic pieces written not long after *VPh*, the Life of St. Eustratios and the Acts of Sts. David, Symeon and George, also contains episodes of this kind, but these may have been inspired by *VPh*.<sup>52</sup> This makes one wonder whether the motif of foolhardy generosity derives directly from the folktale rather than indirectly through hagiographical tales such as these. In any case, in *VPh* it was combined with the story of Job and the motif of innocent suffering, which contributes to making *VPh* such an intriguing document.

All this shows that to call Philaretos a happy fool is a simplification that does not do justice to the complexity of his character. Nor does it seem likely that Niketas wanted to describe his own grandfather and godfather as a simple fool. Rather Philaretos was a pious and generous aristocrat who took the Christian message seriously, and when he was put to the test he stood the test.

Unlike her children, Theosebo fails to come forward and admit that she misjudged her husband and treated him unfairly, and this despite the fact that she lost her temper several times. She railed at him (150–55), was angry with him (148f., 298f.), accused him of being cruel (260f.), used irony (308) and sarcasms (295f., 405f.).

Whereas Theosebo lost her temper, Philaretos stayed calm and dignified (see e.g. 156–58, 402–410). Unlike the fools described in Thompson's *Motif-Index* under the heading "The Wise and the Foolish"<sup>53</sup> he was not a blockhead. He gave reasons for his seemingly unwise generosity (163ff., 200–207), and in the farewell speech he delivered before his death he explained that he had followed a rational plan, which he enjoined his offspring to adopt as well (675–709). The idea of this plan was that you shall give your material wealth to the poor, using them as your agents, as it were, for sending it in advance to heaven, where you then shall recover it multiplied a ten thousand fold (708–9). This idea is of course biblical — cf. Mt. 19:21 εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ὑπάγε πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δός πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρόν ἐν οὐρανοῖς —, although it was later elucidated and emphasized in the treatise *de eleemosyna* ascribed

<sup>51</sup> Ed. Festugière, 345, 121–346, 167.

<sup>52</sup> *VEustrat*, chs. 13–15; *ActDavSymGeorg*, ch. 13. The latter passage is particularly evocative of *VPh*, as the holy man not only gives away to two poor men the flour he is carrying home from the mill but also gives them the donkey to carry it for them.

<sup>53</sup> Vol. 4, 9–230.



to John Chrysostom,<sup>54</sup> and in the homily *de eleemosyna, et in divitem Lazarum*, also ascribed to John Chrysostom, where the author contrasts the difficulty with which you move your belongings from one town to another with the easiness with which you can send it to heaven with the help of the poor.<sup>55</sup> It also turns up in hagiographical texts such as Barlaam and Ioasaph<sup>56</sup> and the Life of Michael Maleinos.<sup>57</sup>

To sum up, it does not suffice to say that Philaretos was a happy fool and leave it at that. It is true that Niketas' portrait of his grandfather contains features ultimately deriving from the folktale, but it is equally true that it is too rich and complicated to be no more than the description of a folktale happy fool. And if Philaretos was no more than a happy fool, how could he be characterized as a new Job and a new Abraham?

## Other saints called Merciful

Relatively few Byzantine saints were surnamed Merciful. D.I. Polemis mentions the following four: 1. John the Merciful, d. 619/20. 2. Our Philaretos the Merciful. 3. Emperor John III Vatatzes the Merciful, d. 1254. 4. John the Merciful the Younger, d. c. 1250.<sup>58</sup> To these may be added Ioustos the Merciful, mentioned by Ludwig,<sup>59</sup> and Christopher the Merciful, to be treated below in connection with Philaretos' largesse. No. 4 on this list is a special case for he is called *ἐλεήμων* only in the title, whereas this epithet

<sup>54</sup> PG 62, cols. 769–770, esp. 770 Μεγάλη δὲ καὶ ἡ νηστεία, καὶ ἡ παρθενία, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀρεταί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἴσον τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης. Πρόπεμψόν σου τὸν κόσμον (πλοῦτον;) εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖ κόσμον τὸν ἀτελεύτητον, καὶ εὐρήσῃ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ἐκείνῳ ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐνταῦθα παρέχεις.

<sup>55</sup> PG 62, cols. 433–444, esp. 441 C/D Πρόπεμψόν σου τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖ αἰῶνα τὸν ἀτελεύτητον... Ἐνταῦθα ἐὰν θέλῃς μετενεγκεῖν σου τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν ἑτέραν, μισθοῦ σά (sic) κτήνη, μισθοφόρους καμήλους, ἡμιόνους, φύλακας ξιφῆρεις ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, μή τινες ἀλιτῆριοι ἐπιρρίψαντες διαρπάξωνταί σου τὸν πλοῦτον. Εἰς ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν κόσμον, ἐὰν θέλῃς μετενεγκεῖν σου τὸν πλοῦτον, οὔτε κόπον ὑπομένεις, οὔτε μισθὸν ἀναλίσκεις, οὔτε ἐπηρίαν τινὰ ὑπομένεις, οὔτ' ἐξέρχῃ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ σὺ κάθη ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν πολλῇ ἀναπαύσει, καὶ ἔρχεται ὁ πένης εἰς τὴν θύραν σου, ζητῶν σου τὸν πλοῦτον μετενεγκαί εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖ αἰῶνα τὸν ἀτελεύτητον.

<sup>56</sup> Ed. Warmington, 212 Ἡ μὲν τοῦ πλοῦτου τούτου πρὸς τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον προπομπῇ ταῖς χερσὶ γίνεται τῶν πενήτων and 214 οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἀσφαλῆστατα λίαν ἐκεῖσε προπέμψεις πάντα ταῖς τῶν δεομένων χερσίν.

<sup>57</sup> Ed. Petit 557,32–558,1 καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν πρᾶγμα θαύματος ἄξιον, ἀγέλας βοσκοκημάτων καὶ παντοίων εἰδῶν ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἀφειδῶς ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων χεῖρας διδόμενα καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄσυσλα ταμεῖα τῆς ἐκείθεν μακαριότητος προπεμπόμενα.

<sup>58</sup> Polemis, "Speech of Constantine Akropolitēs", 31f.

<sup>59</sup> *Sonderformen*, 155.

is missing in the text that follows, written by Constantine Akropolites.<sup>60</sup> This saint specialized in curing diseases of the eyes through his relics; but he is never said to have given away anything. No. 1 is the well-known patriarch of Alexandria John the Almsgiver, whose Life was written by John Moschos and Sophronios and supplemented by Leontios of Neapolis.<sup>61</sup>

John the Almsgiver had been married and produced children before he became patriarch of Alexandria. He was a strong and powerful leader of the church, but he also used the resources of his church to support the sick and relieve the distress of the poor. He used to call himself "humble John" — according to Leontios he always had this expression on his lips.<sup>62</sup> He also called the poor his lords,<sup>63</sup> which is reminiscent of *VPh* 531ff. However, all this looks somewhat insincere. When other people talked to John they addressed him as "great Lord", "sovereign Lord", "your Holiness", and the like. If anybody had addressed him as "humble John" he would certainly have taken offence. Philaretos, on the other hand, does not have to introduce himself as "humble Philaretos". He *is* humble. He is so humble that he even allows his wife to make fun of him and, remarkably enough, does so without losing his dignity. Arrived in Constantinople he refuses to accept any other title than that of consul, which in the late 8th century was a rather modest title. Yet he is always cheerful and in good spirits, whereas Leontios' portrait of St. John gives the impression of a constantly grave man, always prone to shedding tears.

No. 3, John Doukas Vatatzes, emperor of Nicaea 1222–1254, became renowned for his mercifulness, although, to judge from the Vita written by George of Pelagonia in the 14th century,<sup>64</sup> his charity did not exceed the philanthropy of an ideal Byzantine emperor. And, unlike Philaretos, he was not humble, since a ruler cannot afford to be humble.

In the story of the rich but merciful *primikerios* Ioustos, finally, which is contained in a late exemplum edited by F. Halkin,<sup>65</sup> there is no Job motif,

<sup>60</sup> Ed. by Polemis, *op.cit.*, 43–53.

<sup>61</sup> The Life written by John Moschos and Sophronios has not been preserved, although its contents may be traced in an anonymous compilation edited by H. Delehaye in *AB* 45 (1927), 19–73. For the Life written by Leontios see Festugière, *Vie de Jean de Chypre*.

<sup>62</sup> Ed. Festugière, 366, 19.

<sup>63</sup> Ed. Festugière, 347, 31.

<sup>64</sup> See Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes". For Nikodemios Hagiorites' paraphrase of an anonymous post-Byzantine Vita, see the reprint of Agathangelos' 1872 edition in Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Offensive*, 88–117. In this late version the praise of John Vatatzes reaches a new peak. He is described as a *προστάτης τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν, παρηγορία τῶν λυπομένων* etc. (p. 93) and called *τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης πηγὴ, τῶν πτωχῶν προμηθευτής, τῶν ἀδικομένων ἐτοιμότητος προασπιστής* as well as *ἡ βρῦσις τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης* (p. 98).

<sup>65</sup> "Histoire édifiante de Philothée injustement accusé par une femme et miraculeusement sauvé", *JÖB* 37 (1987), 31–37.

although in some other respects his story is evocative of *VPh*. Like Philaretos he is married to a woman called Theosebo. He is so generous that he ruins himself completely, but in the end he is rehabilitated so that he can go on supporting the poor without risking his own existence. Like Philaretos he is compared to both Abraham and Jacob. In other respects, however, there are striking differences. Theosebo dies at the beginning of the story. Ioustos sells his own son to a patrikios, and his son's good behaviour becomes the reason for his rehabilitation. Last but not least, the main purpose of the exemplum is not so much to prove the importance of being merciful as to prove the importance of not leaving church before the end of service.<sup>66</sup> But the author of the exemplum combined this motif with that of charity and in so doing probably borrowed a few elements from *VPh*.

## The bride-show (376–516)

This is not the place to discuss the historicity of the Byzantine bride-show stories in general.<sup>67</sup> As for the bride-show described in *VPh*, however, I find it hard to believe that it describes a real event.<sup>68</sup> It is not mentioned in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, who wrote before Niketas and therefore at a time closer to Maria's wedding. If the bride-show had taken place as described in *VPh*, why should Theophanes have failed to mention it? What Theophanes says is this: "The empress Irene broke her contract with the Franks<sup>69</sup> and sent out the *protospatharios* Theophanes, who brought a maiden from the Armenian parts, Maria of Amnia. She married her to her son, the emperor Constantine, who was unwilling and very distressed because of his connection with the daughter of Karoulos, king of the Franks, to whom he had previously been betrothed. His wedding was celebrated in the month of November, indiction 12"<sup>70</sup>, i.e. in November 788. One has the impression that Niketas tried to embellish an event that

<sup>66</sup> For other examples of this topic, see *Life of Andrew the Fool* ed. Rydén, line 937ff. with note 2 p. 314.

<sup>67</sup> Serious doubts that bride-shows ever occurred in Byzantium have been expressed by myself in Rydén, "Bride-shows", by P. Speck in "Brautschau", 25, note 3, and 29, by C. Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 117ff., by D. Afinogenov in "Bride-show", 10 and, with a new approach and useful observations, by M. Vinson in "Life of Theodora". In Russia, on the other hand, bride-shows have been documented beyond doubt, see Sorlin, "La plus belle ou la meilleure?".

<sup>68</sup> So already Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, 207.

<sup>69</sup> In fact, Charlemagne rather than Irene broke the contract, see Treadgold, "Bride-shows", 396 and *Revival*, 89, Classen, *Karl der Grosse*, 32, and Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene*, 237.

<sup>70</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, tr. by C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford, 1997), 637f.

was neither romantic nor happy. As in the *Life of the Empress Theodora*,<sup>71</sup> it may also have served the purpose of compensating for the lack of flattering episodes in the bride's earlier life. P. Speck is probably right when he suggests that the author saw that the procedure described by Theophanes could easily be transformed into a bride-show tale,<sup>72</sup> although one may doubt that Niketas had read Theophanes himself.

The bride-show described in *VPh* contains unusual as well as traditional (from the point of view of literature) features. Traditional features are, among others, the following:

- the contest is not organized by the bridegroom to be but by his parents, especially the queen mother<sup>73</sup>
- the contestants are judged by their stature, size of feet, form of face, and gait<sup>74</sup>
- the contest has two stages: first a group of finalists is chosen, then the winner is selected.<sup>75</sup>
- the prospective winner has to cope with envy and malevolence.<sup>76</sup>
- the losers are rewarded<sup>77</sup>

Among unusual features one notices:

- the careful description of the arrival and reception of the imperial envoys. Usually the story focuses at once on the final competition.
- Maria suggests that all the finalists should form a sisterhood and that the girl selected to become empress should take care of the others.
- all the members of Maria's family are enumerated

These three additions to the traditional pattern can be easily explained. The first is justified by the fact that Philaretos, not Maria, plays the main role. The second feature is designed to demonstrate Maria's kind-heartedness and innocence. The third has to do with Niketas' purpose: he wants to introduce himself and his family to the emperor Michael II and so support Euphrosyne and remind Michael of his existence.

<sup>71</sup> See Vinson, "Life of Theodora", 37.

<sup>72</sup> Speck, *Konstantin VI.*, 629, note 162f.

<sup>73</sup> See Treadgold, "Bride-shows", 409.

<sup>74</sup> See Hunger, "Schönheitskonkurrenz", 152f. and 157.

<sup>75</sup> See Hunger, *op.cit.*, 153.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *Life of the Empress Theodora*, ed. Markopoulos, ch. 3, 29.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *Life of the Empress Theophano*, ed. Kurtz, 6.

## The banquet for the beggars (528–600)

Maria's wedding was a great triumph for Philaretos. The emperor gave him the rank of consul and provided him as well as Maria's other relatives with splendid houses near the palace. He invited them to dinner whereupon he lavished precious gifts upon each one of them in a way not unlike the Palm Sunday ceremony at the court, during which the emperor distributed bags of gold coins and precious garments among his officials, as described by Liudprand of Cremona.<sup>78</sup> Then Philaretos ordered his son and grandsons to prepare a corresponding banquet for the emperor, the patrikios, presumably referring to Myranthia's husband to be Konstantinakios (509–10), and the whole senate. But when all was ready and the guests arrived, it turned out that Philaretos, like St. John the Merciful turning society upside down,<sup>79</sup> had in fact invited one hundred beggars. His relatives realized that he had remained the same merciful person, although in the new situation he could no longer reduce them to poverty. They gladly waited at the table, serving the King of kings and his brothers, the beggars. To make the scene still more impressive, the beggars are said to lie down at the table, as in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Tables the emperor made his guests recline on couches in the ancient manner.<sup>80</sup>

After they had finished the meal the food basket was removed and, at the order of Philaretos, all the precious gifts that his kindred had received from the emperor were put on the table. This was a great moment for Philaretos. He said, "I have given you the money I promised you. Do you have anything to say to me?" (572–74). His son and grandchildren felt guilty for not having understood and behaved accordingly. Admitting that they had been foolish and angry with him instead of supporting his good works they asked him to forgive them. One would expect Theosebo to ask for forgiveness as well, since, unlike her children, she had criticized, rebuked and even ridiculed her husband in a way that should have hurt him. But in this part of the Vita it is as if Theosebo had ceased to exist. Her role in the story is finished, and when she reappears after Philaretos' death she is quite different from the Xanthippe she appeared to be in the first part.

<sup>78</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, VI,10; Engl. tr. in F.A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (London, 1930), 211; see also Oikonomides, "Title and Income", 200–201.

<sup>79</sup> Life of John the Merciful, ed. Festugière, 347, 25f. The parallel has been pointed out by Kazhdan and Sherry, "Happy Fool," 357.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 164, note 136; idem, "Contents", 205–206, with reference to Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, VI,8 and Koukoulés, *Bios*, V (1952), 168.

## Philaretos' largesse (601–636)

After his granddaughter's wedding Philaretos lived four years at the imperial court, continuing to care for the needy, with the difference that instead of giving away animals he now gave away the money he received from the emperor and the magnates, who admired his generosity. He used to fill one purse with gold coins, another with silver coins, and a third with copper coins. All three purses looked exactly the same. They were carried by his personal *protovestiaros*, who fulfilled the same function as the *diadotes* 'distributor' mentioned several times in the Life of St. John the Merciful. When a beggar asked for alms, Philaretos would ask his *protovestiaros* for one of the purses, but he would not say which one, for he was convinced that God would give him the purse that best suited the beggar's needs. Then he would put his hand into the purse and pick up what God decided and give it to the beggar.

A similar procedure is described in the story of an early Byzantine saint called Christopher the Merciful.<sup>81</sup> He also had three purses, but in his case they were filled with three denominations of gold coins. This probably reflects the monetary system of the period in which Christopher lived, although in this context it fails to serve a meaningful purpose.

In his *Lives of the Eastern Saints* John of Ephesos (6th century) describes a simplified version of this method. Like Philaretos, a *praepositus sacri cubiculi* and *castrensis* called Theodore gave away not only his own very substantial wealth but also all the money he received from the emperor. He would "load two of his confidential servants during the night, ...and would go out and distribute it all night with his own hands, not trusting any man, giving the poor not two or three darics only, but sometimes even ten, and sometimes eight, and six and seven..."<sup>82</sup>

It is also useful to compare an example of largesse described in the 14th-century *Treatise on the Dignities and Offices*. Here one learns that during the coronation ceremony bundles of money were thrown at the populace, each bundle containing three gold coins, three silver coins, and three copper coins.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> See E. Mioni, "Il Pratum Spirituale di Giovanni Mosco", *OCP* 17 (1951), 61–94, esp. 84–85; also F. Nau, "Vies et récits d'anachorètes (IVe–VIIe siècles)", *ROC* 7 (1902), 616–17.

<sup>82</sup> Ed. Brooks, *PO* 19 (1926), 202. The story of Theodore is quoted and discussed by Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 148–151. She works out the similarities with Philaretos but also observes that, unlike Philaretos, Theodore was an ascetic who gave to the poor in secret, whereas Philaretos distributed his money in broad daylight. However, I do not think that this is sufficient reason to compare him to the *saloi*, as Ludwig does.

<sup>83</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1976), 255.

These examples indicate that, by and large, Philaretos distributed money according to a well-known pattern, a pattern that ultimately goes back to consular and imperial largesse and therefore suits Philaretos' title of consul (639) very well.

## Niketas' dream (833–891)

Three days after Philaretos' death, Niketas, now about seven years old, had a dream in which he saw himself standing in front of a fiery, roaring river. On the other side of the river there was a delightful garden with pomegranate and hazel-nut trees and vines with fruit and grapes of enormous size. Men, women and children dressed in white were eating of the fruit. In the midst of the trees he saw his grandfather, likewise dressed in white, sitting on a throne with Niketas' newly dead little sister (evidently Hypatia) on his lap. A great host of newly baptized (if this is what νεόφωτα means) children surrounded them.<sup>84</sup> Beside them he saw another host dressed in white, presumably the poor that Philaretos had helped during his lifetime. A man with a shining appearance explained to Niketas that, in the afterlife, Philaretos had become Abraham. It would seem, therefore, that all those dressed in white were resting, as it were, in Philaretos', i.e. Abraham's bosom. This is the culmination of Philaretos' gradual transformation from a new Job to a new Abraham and the ultimate proof that his economic theory was correct. It would further seem that the wonderful fruit represent the riches that Philaretos sent in advance to Paradise with the assistance of the poor. And he hoped (694–709) that his offspring would follow his example and also send their riches in advance to Paradise.

Philaretos wanted Niketas to come over and join him. But Niketas hesitated, not surprisingly, for there was only one bridge leading over the fiery river, and this bridge was as narrow as a hair. Yet he began to cross over, terrified and tottering. Unfortunately, at the very instant he was over, his mother woke him up because he cried.

This dream, or vision, has many parallels, all with their own features. For Abraham's bosom one may, in addition to the Apocalypse of Anastasia, compare the Vision of Kosmas (10th century), in which Kosmas sees a noble old man sitting in Paradise surrounded by innumerable children. His

<sup>84</sup> Cf. the Apocalypse of Anastasia, ed. Homburg, 5, 5–7, where the guiding angel explains, "The man you see is Abraham, τὰ δὲ νήπιά εἰσιν, ἅπερ ἀπεκεφάλισεν Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὰ ἀποθνήσκοντα πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν βαπτιζόμενα (v.l. βαπτισμένα)".

guides explain to him that the old man is Abraham and that the host of children are resting in what is called his bosom.<sup>85</sup>

The idea of a bridge leading from this world to the otherworld is both old and widely spread.<sup>86</sup> In Iranian mythology the bridge is broad for the good, who pass without difficulty, whereas it narrows down to the breadth of a razor edge when the wicked shall pass.<sup>87</sup> The idea of a bridge that becomes narrow for the wicked also appears in the medieval west, e.g. in the *Visio Alberici* (12th century).<sup>88</sup> In his *History of the Franks* 4,33 Gregory of Tours (d. 594/5) describes the bridge as being no broader than the breadth of a man's foot and, as in *VPh*, leading over a fiery river.

In Byzantine Greek this bridge appears for the first time in the fourth book of the translation of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (pope 590–604), made or commissioned c. 750 by the pope Zacharias, who was a Greek. Gregory says that the bridge leads over a dark and ill-smelling river. As he refers to Mt 7:14 "the road is narrow" he obviously means that the bridge is also narrow. But he does not say that its breadth can change.<sup>89</sup> Instead he describes the crossing of the bridge in a way that is strongly reminiscent of the soul climbing the heavenly ladder as described by John Klimax<sup>90</sup> and represented on impressive icons.<sup>91</sup>

However, the first *genuinely* Byzantine example of the bridge to the otherworld is, as far as I know, the passage in *VPh* under discussion. Next comes a passage in the *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, written in the tenth or eleventh century, perhaps even later. The bridge is here said to lead over a fiery, boiling river and, according to one version (cod. A), to have the breadth of twelve fingers like a belt (ζώνη).<sup>92</sup> The righteous cross the river and reach Paradise without difficulty, but when a sinner comes, he is overshadowed by a cloud, a fiery sword descends on him from on high, the bridge turns over and he falls down into the river.

The Life of St. Basil the Younger, written in the middle of the tenth century, offers a particularly intriguing variant, which shows that the motif was already well known at that time. Basil, who lived in Constantinople, had a faithful servant called Theodora. When she died, the saint's disciple

<sup>85</sup> Angelidi, "Version longue", lines 138–145.

<sup>86</sup> See G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965), 39–40; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, no. F 152.

<sup>87</sup> See *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 5 (1992), 599 s.v. Činwad Puhl.

<sup>88</sup> See, among others, Dinzelbacher, *Jenseitsbrücke*, 32, and J. P. Cuiianu, "'Pons Subtilis'. Storia e significato di un simbolo", *Aevum*, 53 (1979), 301–312, esp. 303.

<sup>89</sup> PL 77, 383 C and 586 A.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, 386 B.

<sup>91</sup> See, e.g., *ODB*, 1061.

<sup>92</sup> Ed. Homburg, 18f.



and biographer Gregory wondered whether she was being rewarded in the afterlife and, if so, how she was rewarded. One night Gregory dreamed that a young man told him to get up and go to see Theodora in her new abode. He also told him which way he should take. As he went, he had the impression that he was going from the Forum Bovis, where he lived, in the direction of the Theotokos Church at Blachernae, which was situated on a hill in the northernmost corner of the city. Suddenly the road went uphill to a narrow crossing (*diabaterion*), which Gregory passed under much fear and agony. Then he came to a beautiful gate, behind which Theodora lived in a wonderful palace, a palace built by Basil with his good works.<sup>93</sup> In this case the bridge has the form of a narrow passage-way in the capital rather than of a bridge leading over a fiery river, and the dwellings of the blessed seem to be located within the walls of Constantinople itself. This very original version can hardly have been created unless, by the mid-tenth century, the belief in the narrow bridge had become well established in Byzantium. Remarkably enough Gregory, the author of *VBasilun*, in another vision in the same *Vita* also speaks about the chasm that separates this world from the otherworld but this time expresses himself as if there were no bridge.<sup>94</sup>

The Vision of Kosmas, mentioned above, is a special case, for in this version there is no bridge.<sup>95</sup> Instead a narrow road less than a foot-breadth wide runs along a ravine at the bottom of which a river streams with a gnashing sound. The soul strives to reach the east end of the ravine and the beginning of the river, all the time running the risk of falling down into the frightening abyss.

Some visionaries actually die, their soul leaves the body and visits the underworld led by otherworldly guides, e.g. the archangel Michael (so in the *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*), whereupon it returns to the body, which regains life. Niketas, on the other hand, falls into an ecstasy during sleep and is caught up into the other world alone. He does not make a roundtrip through heaven and hell. He just comes to the fiery river on the other side of which he sees Paradise and the dwelling of his grandfather. In this context the reason for the extreme narrowness of the bridge must be that, since he still lived, Niketas was not allowed to reach Paradise. Yet as a blameless child of seven he nearly made it, helped by his grandfather.

That the bridge was as narrow as a hair or even narrower is a feature that has parallels in post-Muhammad Arabic literature<sup>96</sup> as well as in an Italian

<sup>93</sup> Fol. 68v, ed. Veselovskij (1889), 12.

<sup>94</sup> Fol. 60v, ed. Vilinskij 322.

<sup>95</sup> See Angelidi, "Version longue," lines 98–111.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Dinzelbacher, *Jenseitsbrücke*, 75 and 77.

originally pre-Islamic  
I think

translation of a twelfth-century version of the *Visio Pauli*.<sup>97</sup> There do not seem to be any Byzantine parallels.<sup>98</sup> It turns up, however, in Modern Greek folk poetry, to be precise in the ballad called "The Bridge of Arta", also called "The Bridge of Hair", analysed by R. Beaton.<sup>99</sup> The ballad begins as if describing the building of a real bridge but gradually the bridge appears to be the hair bridge that leads from earth over Hell to Paradise. As Beaton shows, the background to the ballad is mythical. In one way or another, therefore, the myth of the bridge of hair survived from the time of *VPh* to the present day.

## The author and his purpose

Niketas says that when he had his dream two days after Philaretos' death he was about seven years old (835). As he also says that Philaretos lived four years after Maria's wedding in November, 788 (637, 645f.) and that he, Niketas, was born on the day of St. Theodore, i.e. either February 17 (St. Theodore Teron's day) or, less likely, February 5 (the day of St. Theodore Stratelates, whose cult does not seem to have been fully established at this time), he was probably born on February 17, 785. If this is so, he was three years and eight months old at the time of Maria's wedding.

Niketas further says that after Philaretos' death he lived at home for ten years, and that at the age of eighteen he left home and became a monk (895f.). This apparently means either that Philaretos lived at the court a few months more than just four years, or that Niketas was not yet fully eighteen years old when he took the vows. Twenty years later (897f.), i.e. in late 822 or in spring 823, he wrote *VPh*. Unfortunately, this does not quite fit the date of composition he gives at 901, namely the year 6330, which according to the Byzantine era corresponds to the period September 821 to August 822 AD. Therefore, either the number 6330 is a scribal error

<sup>97</sup> See Silverstein, *Visio Pauli*, 77.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 163.

<sup>99</sup> R. Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (London, 1980), 120–124. I wish to thank Dr. S. Rydå for this reference.

for 6331, or the twenty years should be understood as a round number. The second alternative seems to be more likely.<sup>100</sup>

Niketas also says that, at the time of composition, he lives in exile at Karyoupolis in the Peloponnesos (902). As he does not tell when and why he was exiled, the reason for his exile is anybody's guess. *VPh* does not give the impression of being the work of an ardent iconophile.<sup>101</sup> Probably, therefore, he was not exiled because he belonged to the wrong theological camp. R. Etzeoglou suggests instead that Niketas was among the Armenians whom Nikephoros I (802–811) transferred from Asia Minor to the Peloponnesos in order to rehellenize the Mani, where Karyoupolis was situated, after the Slavic invasions. If this is what happened, it was not an exile in the traditional sense, although it might have been felt like this by those affected.<sup>102</sup> This is certainly a possibility, although Niketas does not express himself like a person who has lived in exile for twenty years, nor is it certain that he was an Armenian. On the other hand, what Niketas says at 897–901, namely that he has written down, partly what he has seen with his own eyes, partly what he has heard from his parents, and partly what he has learned from the poor, hardly represents an objection, since here he is just repeating a hagiographical topos.

The reason why Niketas fails to explain why he was exiled may simply be that the grounds for his exile did not fit the purpose of the *Vita*. The same probably applies to the fact that he also fails to mention which monastery he entered when he left home and became a monk. It may very well have been a monastery that it was inopportune to mention in 822. It is, however, tempting to assume that he took this step because his father died at this time or because of the dethronement of the empress Irene, or because of both.

In any case, it is clear that the date of composition more or less coincides with Maria's daughter Euphrosyne's marriage to Michael II, usually dated to 823, although it may have taken place in 822 when, because of the revolt

<sup>100</sup> Auzépy, "De Philarète", 123, suggests as a possibility that Niketas followed the Alexandrian era according to which the year 6330 corresponds to AD 830. This could mean that Niketas was exiled at the same time as Theophilos sent Euphrosyne back to the monastery, which gives a good reason for Niketas' exile but is difficult to reconcile with the fact that Niketas says that he is writing twenty years after he became a monk. It also fails to explain why he wrote the *Vita* at all.

<sup>101</sup> I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclastic Period", in A. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds., *Iconoclasm*, 126 characterizes *VPh* as a non-Iconodule text, and A.-M. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire" points out several elements indicating that Niketas was in fact an iconoclast: he rarely calls Philaretos *ἅγιος*, he describes him as an active, practical man who earns his sainthood through his generosity, and he refers to the Old rather than to the New Testament.

<sup>102</sup> Etzeoglou, "Karyoupolis", 94–95.

of Thomas the Slav, Michael was in desperate need of legitimation, something that Euphrosyne as the daughter of Constantine VI could offer him.<sup>103</sup>

No doubt *VPh* is a very edifying piece of literature. However, the fact that Niketas introduces both himself and his whole family so carefully indicates that edification and the making of his grandfather into a saint were not his sole purpose. As P. Speck suggests, he probably also wanted, on the one hand, to support the marriage between Euphrosyne and Michael II, and on the other to gain Michael's favour so that he would be recalled from his exile.<sup>104</sup> Euphrosyne's family background was not altogether happy, to say the least. Her father had divorced her mother, whom he had put into a monastery together with their two daughters, of whom probably only Euphrosyne was still alive. Then Constantine had married his mistress, only to be blinded a couple of years later by his own mother, the empress Irene, who in turn had been deposed and exiled to the island of Lesbos by Nikephoros I. Moreover, the Lombard king Grimoald had divorced and sent away her maternal aunt Euanthia. Nothing of all this is allowed to surface in *VPh*. By making Philaretos rather than Maria the hero of his story Niketas could stop before all the trouble began. It is true that he has Philaretos make predictions concerning some of his offspring, but there is no mention of a coming family tragedy. What he presents is an altogether sunny family history, in which the bride-show is very flattering for Maria and indirectly also for Euphrosyne. In addition Niketas makes Euphrosyne the great-granddaughter of a saint. As Martha Vinson observes, by focusing on Philaretos' charity he bridged the theological gap between the iconoclast Michael II and the granddaughter of the iconophile empress Irene.<sup>105</sup> It is remarkable, however, that Irene is kept in the background most of the time. When she is mentioned it is always together with her son, whereas Constantine appears much more often. Niketas further says that Philaretos refused to accept any higher position than that of a consul and that his son John and grandson Petronas, Maria's brother, received the relatively low rank of spatharios (553–55). It seems likely that this reflects not so much Philaretos's saintly humbleness as Irene's own ambitions, according to which Constantine's relatives should not become so powerful that they could support him against his mother. If this is so, Niketas made Euph-

<sup>103</sup> I thank Dr. D. Afinogenov for pertinent remarks on this point. Note also that in 807 the emperor Nikephoros I had married another relative of Irene's, Theophano, to his son Staurakios.

<sup>104</sup> *Konstantin VI.*, 206.

<sup>105</sup> Vinson, "Life of Theodora", 51. A. Carile, "Santi aristocratici e santi imperatori", in *Oriente Cristiano e Santità*, 36, points out that Michael was not the only iconoclast emperor to marry an iconophile woman. Other examples are Constantine V and Čček-Irene, Leo IV and Irene of Athens, Theophilos and Theodora.

rosyne's father a more important person than he really was at this time. At any rate, the active, practical sainthood that characterized Philaretos must have appealed to an iconoclast reader, who disapproved of ascetics and hermits.<sup>106</sup> Quite naturally, Niketas never mentions icons.<sup>107</sup> Although Niketas was a monk, his *Life of Philaretos* has very little in common with traditional monastic literature. Also the entertaining qualities of the story and its simple, straightforward language must have appealed to the emperor, who was hardly able to appreciate literature in high style.<sup>108</sup>

We do not know whether Niketas wrote *VPh* before Euphrosyne's wedding, as P. Speck thinks,<sup>109</sup> or after it. If the former alternative is true, *VPh* probably served the purpose of supporting Michael's marriage plans. If, on the other hand, the latter is true the *Vita* may rather have been meant as a wedding gift, as it were. In either case it must also have served the purpose of saving the author from his exile. Unfortunately, we do not know whether Niketas succeeded in his effort to win Michael's favour, although this seems probable.<sup>110</sup>

Even if Niketas may not have been educated enough to write in prestigious high style, he did not lack literary talent. In fact, he was a great storyteller, which not only endears him to the modern reader but, to judge from the manuscript tradition, delighted the medieval reader, or listener, as well.

In C. Ludwig's view, *VPh* is a simple compilation of various sources,<sup>111</sup> produced by an editor who was not even related to Philaretos<sup>112</sup> and, in any case, failed to describe him convincingly.<sup>113</sup> To my mind, however, Philaretos, as depicted in *VPh*, is no less convincing a character than many other hagiographic heroes. In hagiography, real persons are transformed into saints. These may be convincing as saints, but they should not be required to be convincing as real persons as well. Psychological credibility is not to be expected from a saint's *Life*. The idea that *VPh* was not written by Phi-

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Auzépy, "Analyse littéraire", 62.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene*, 239, note 46.

<sup>108</sup> From the point of view of grammar and style *VPh* is more like the *Lives* written in the seventh century than contemporary hagiography. As Ševčenko, "Hagiography", 128 points out, *VPh* was out of step with literary history.

<sup>109</sup> *Konstantin VI.*, 206.

<sup>110</sup> According to Hinterberger, *Autobiographische Traditionen*, 176, the vision of Philaretos sitting on a throne in Paradise made such an impression on Niketas that, thirty years later, he decided to write his grandfather's *Life*. Hinterberger puts the autobiographical material contained in *VPh* into the context of Byzantine autobiographical tradition. He fails, however, to ask the question why Niketas waited so long to write the *Vita*, and why he did it precisely in 821/22.

<sup>111</sup> *Sonderformen*, 158.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibidem*, 156f.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibidem*, 159f.

laretos' grandson Niketas but by another person who adopted his identity is unnecessary. It explains nothing that cannot be explained by assuming that Niketas himself was the author of the Vita.

As to *VPh* as a compilation: it is true that Niketas exploited a number of literary motifs and models, like the Book of Job, the folktale bride-show, imperial ceremonies, consular largesse, and Paradise visions. On the other hand, it is clear that he handled all these motifs originally and skillfully. None of his episodes is a mere copy. The details may not always be consistent, but this does not happen more often than in many other Lives.<sup>114</sup> And, what is more, despite a few unimportant instances of incongruity, Niketas' narrative is coherent and written with an eye for organic development, as A. Kazhdan and L.F. Sherry have demonstrated.<sup>115</sup> The author concentrates on one particular theme, which he develops step by step with the help of graphic episodes that follow one upon the other in chronological order. There are no loose unconnected anecdotes, as in so many other saint's Lives.

A striking feature is the frequency of the adverb *εἴτα* 'then', which appears no fewer than sixteen times in this short text, underlining the weight Niketas attached to the rapid and orderly succession of events. In this frequency it does not occur in high-style writing, which uses other, more sophisticated methods to connect episodes. In the Greek folktales translated by R.M. Dawkins there are seventeen 'then' in the story called "The two kings" (eight and a half pages), ten in the story called "The boy carried away to the world below" (five pages), thirteen in the story called "The cyclops: the giant with an eye in the crown of his head" (three pages), and thirteen in the tale "Fair as the sun" (eight pages).<sup>116</sup> One may also compare the many *τότε* 'then', 'at that time', appearing in the apocalypse of Andrew the Fool, in which a steady progress is likewise described.<sup>117</sup> This is not the kind of feature one would expect to find in a mere compilation.

As Niketas was only about seven and a half years old when Philaretos died, he could not write the Vita at once. But why did he wait three whole decades? It does not seem probable that he got the idea just when he heard of Michael's marriage plans. More probably he had cherished a plan to write the Life of his grandfather and godfather for some time so that, when the marriage news reached him from Constantinople, he got the push he needed to get started, and now he was well prepared. In any case, the long

<sup>114</sup> Cf. C. Mango, "Precision and Imprecision", *Etudes Balkaniques* 1 (1994), 26-41.

<sup>115</sup> "Happy Fool", 354.

<sup>116</sup> R.M. Dawkins, *More Greek Folktales* (Oxford, 1955), nos. 15, 11, 4a, 8.

<sup>117</sup> Life of Andrew the Fool ed. Rydén, lines 3805-4127.

delay enabled Niketas to handle his subject matter freely and to supplement it at will.

## Previous editions

*VPh* appeared in print for the first time in 1900, when A.A. Vasiliev published the version represented by cod. Par. gr. 1510 (= V, 10th C.).<sup>118</sup> This edition was well received, although it reproduced a secondary version and contained many unsatisfactory readings.<sup>119</sup>

The original version, however, was published in 1934 by M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy on the basis of cod. Genuensis gr. 34 (= G, 11th C.) and cod. Par. gr. 1608 (= P, 14th C.).<sup>120</sup> The edition was provided with a careful introduction, a French translation, and indices. Unfortunately, although the editors demonstrated convincingly that P is a copy of G, in their apparatus criticus they not only noted all the variants of P (with a few exceptions<sup>121</sup>) but also, surprisingly enough, a large number of variants that are not to be found in P.<sup>122</sup> This gives the impression that P is a careless copy of G, although it is in fact an unusually careful copy, particularly with regard to the fact that this is a low-style Vita.

They further assumed that some of the additional material found in the version edited by Vasiliev was genuine and therefore added it to the text of G within square brackets. This has led to some regrettable misconceptions. For instance, on the basis of Fourmy-Leroy 159,34 it has become an accepted fact that Philaretos was 90 years old when he died and therefore was born in 702. And on the basis of Fourmy-Leroy 161,28 it is believed that he

<sup>118</sup> A.A. Vasiliev, "Zhitie Filareta Milostivogo", *IRA/K* 5 (1900), 49–86, esp. 64–86.

<sup>119</sup> See *AB* 19 (1900), 364 and *BZ* 10 (1901), 371.

<sup>120</sup> Fourmy and Leroy, "Vie de Philarète", esp. 113–167.

<sup>121</sup> The following variants and errors in P are missing in the app. crit.: 65 ἀλύπτως for ἀλύπως; ib. τοῦτον for τοῦτο (also G); 67 post καλή add. μὲν; 151 ἐμὲν for ἐμέ; 154 αὐτοῦ for αὐτό; 166 κείττονας for κρείττονας; 204 ἐξαποροῦμεν for ἐξε-; 209 εἰ σκεῦος for εἰς σκεῦος; 220 om. the second καί; 237 καὶ ὅπως ἰσχύσω written twice; 304 βολόμενος; 760 στορήση for ἱστορήση; 782 εὐλογημένη for -μέναι; 798 εὐδωδία for εὐδωδία; 820 πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλε καὶ εἰς om. propter homoeoteleuton; 821 om. δέ; 912 om. τῷ before παναγίῳ.

<sup>122</sup> The following variants, recorded in the app. crit., are not to be found in P: Fourmy-Leroy 115,25; 119,23; 123,13, 21 and 31; 125,16; 127,12; 129,1, 3 (both variants), 22 and 25; 131,6, 9, 17, 24; 133,5, 7, 17; 135,1, 32; 137,11, 18; 139,10, 24; 143,13; 145,4, 15; 149,19; 151,14; 155,27 (both variants); 157,6, 7, 9; 159, 20, 26; 163,3.

was buried on December 2nd, which is a mere guess that in turn gave rise to the opinion that he died on December 1st.<sup>123</sup>

Also certain grammatical and other details in the edition are in need of emendation. To take one example: the editors "emend" the ἐνανοίξει τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ of GP to ἐνανοῖξαι κτλ., although it should obviously be read ἐν ἀνοίξει κτλ. as in Eph. 6:19.<sup>124</sup>

The accompanying translation is generally good, although it contains a few mistakes, such as "Georges le Bien-Nommé" for "George, a farmer as the name says" line 8; "moi qui te connaissais mal" for "me who was unlucky enough to make your acquaintance" 151; "je traverserai les mers et gagnerai l'étranger" for "I shall go abroad" 238; "poitrine" for "model portrait" 469.

## The present edition

### *The manuscripts*

As already mentioned, only two MSS containing the original version of *VPh* have been preserved. Moreover, one of them, P, is a copy of the other, G.

G Cod. Genuensis Urbanus 34, s. XI, parchment, two columns, 305 × 225 mm. *VPh* fols. 216–236<sup>v</sup>.

Lit.: A. Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Franzoniana (Genova), Urbani 21–40. Bollettino dei Classici*, Suppl. 17 (Rome, 1996). — Fourmy and Leroy, 86 and 89–90. — A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* II, 648–650. Ehrhard states that this MS together with cod. Urbanus no. 35, with which it originally formed a single MS, represents the ninth and tenth volume of the Metaphrastic menologion, although with some additions and other changes.

P Cod. Parisinus gr. 1608, s. XIV, paper, one column, 225 fols., 220 × 170 mm. *VPh* fols. 109<sup>v</sup>–137.

<sup>123</sup> See *SynaxCP*, 269.

<sup>124</sup> See further F. Dölger in *BZ* 35 (1935), 194–96 and F. Halkin in *AB*, 53 (1935), 408. It should be noted, however, that some of Dölger's emendations are unnecessary or even wrong as, e.g., τὸ μισὸ for the misprint ἦτο μισυ 302 (read τὸ ἥμισυ), the superfluous addition of ἀκατάκοποι before ἀπὸ κόπου ἐστὲ 450, and ἀποδοῦναι for ἀπανδοῦναι 614 (cf. *LBG* s.v. ἀπανδίδω).



Lit.: F. Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique* = *Subsidia hagiographica* 44 (Brussels, 1968), 225. — Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* III, 826. Ehrhard observes that the first eight items, in the manner of non-menological collections, refer to various saints' feasts, whereas the remaining part of the MS contains homilies of Ephraem the Syrian. — Hagiographi Bollandiani and H. Omont, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis* = *Subsidia hagiographica* 5 (Brussels and Paris, 1896), 278–9.

### Errors in G

Although G is by far the most important text witness, it is not free from errors. Clear examples of this are the following:

9 ἵπποι: ἱππεῖς G

46 πέρας: δι' ἧς πέρας G

63–64 ὁ ἀπαθής καὶ ἀπεύθυνος πλοῦτος: καὶ ὁ ἀπαθής ἀπεύθυνος πλοῦτος G

68 ἐπάρας scripsi: ἐσπέρας G

96 ἐπιλαθόμενος: ἐπιθέμενος G

211 μάλιστα: μᾶλλον τὰ G

220 ἀδνουμιαζόντων: ἀγωνμιαζόντων G, similarly 225, 232, 234, 244

222 τὰ τε δικάβαλλα: τὰ πεδικάβαλα G

240 δέδωκεν αὐτὸν (= τὸν ἵππον) τῷ στρατιώτῃ: δ. αὐτῷ τῷ στρατιώτῃ G

278f. ἐκτῆσατο ὁ πένης ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς εὐλογίας: ἐκτῆσατο ὁ πένης ἐκεῖνος τῆς εὐλογίας G

415 ποιούσα scripsi: ζῶσα G

485 αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες: ἡ δὲ θυγατέρες G

533f. καὶ ὡς ἔρχομαι ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου πάντα ἵνα εὕρω εὐτρεπισμένα: καὶ ὡς ἔρχομαι πάντα ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου ἵνα εὕρω εὐτρεπισμένα G

602 πᾶσι: πενία G

637f. χιτῶνα σηρικὸν φορέσαι: χιτῶνας σιρικιφορέσαι G

642 ἀρκετὸν: ἀρκεσθῶν G

669 πῶς: τέως G

674 αὐτοὺς: αὐτοῦ G

683 ἔθος: εἶδος G

743 συγγενειάζουσιν: συγγενίζουσιν G

744f. διὰ τὸ...μαρανθῆναι: διὰ τοὺς...μαρανθῆναι G

755 τε τὰς scripsi: τὰς τε G

767 ἐβάσταζεν αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ scripsi: om.  
ἐπὶ G

823f. ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐξοδίῳ δαιμονιζομένου:  
ἀκολουθοῦντος...δαιμονιζομένῳ G

824 παρακρατούντων αὐτὸν: π. αὐτῷ G

846 σκυφιδίων: σιφηδίου G

849 καρύας: καρέας G

As appears from these examples G is a rather careless copy, or perhaps a copy of a careless model. On the other hand, one does not get the impression that the copyist tried to reword the Vita according to his own stylistic taste. Occasionally he uses forms reminiscent of Modern Greek, but there seems to be no reason to believe that he did it on purpose.

### *The relationship between G and P*

I fully agree with the opinion of Fourmy and Leroy, 89–90, that P was copied from G.<sup>125</sup> All the errors enumerated above also appear in P. To these may be added a number of irregular spellings, forms and other peculiarities that P has in common with G:

13 δυνάμενα GP for δυναμένη

18–19 θυγατέρες...ῥαῖαι: θυγατέρας...ῥαίαις GP

77 τὸ ζευγὸς ἀτονήσαντα GP

100 τινά: τινάν GP

151 ἐμέ: ἐμέν GP

236 ἄς διαβῶ: ἄς διάβω GP

311 σακίον γέμοντα GP

338 μετὰ τὰ παιδία: μετὰ (= με τὰ?) παιδία GP, cf. 505

394 διὰ τὸ εἶναι: διὰ τὸ ἔστιν GP

505 μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς θυγατέρας: μετὰς (= με τὰς?) τρεῖς θ. GP, cf. 338

In general, P follows the orthography of G. In addition to the cases already quoted one notices that on three occasions (16; 245; 338) σύμβιος 'wife' is spelt σύμβης in P as well as in G. There are of course exceptions, such as 137 ἐγύρεβεν P for ἐγύρευεν G, 180 τὴν γῆν P for τὴν γῆν G, 304 βολόμενος P for βουλόμενος G, but the similarities are more striking.

One also notices that, on the one hand, at 237 P has written καὶ ὅπως ἰσχύσω twice and that, on the other, P also has a few omissions, namely

<sup>125</sup> The *vita et passio Ioannis Baptistae*, copied by P, fols. 156–163, also appears to be a copy of the corresponding text in G, fols. 129–134v, see the edition by F. Nau, *PO* 4 (1908), 526–541, with introduction p. 522.

of πατέρα 586, of πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλε καὶ εἰς 820, of δὲ 821, and of τῷ before παναγίῳ 912. There are also some other slips: κείττονας for κρείττονας 166, εἰ σκεῦος for εἰς σκεῦος 209, λαβῶν for λαβόντες (λαβῶντες G) 597, εὐλογημένη for εὐλογημέναι 782, and εὐδωδία for εὐωδία 798.

On occasion, P has misunderstood G: instead of αὐτὸ (αὐτῷ G) 154, P has written αὐτοῦ, perhaps under the influence of the preceding τούτου χάριν; at 156f. P seems to have misunderstood an abbreviation in G and therefore written τῶν προσώπων instead of τῷ προσώπῳ. There are also a few cases where Modern Greek has crept in: καλή μὲν ἡ πενία οἱ καλῶς τὴν οἰπομένουσιν 67 and στορήση for ἱστορήση 760. Finally, P omits every iota adscriptum or subscriptum found in G.

In a few cases, P offers a better text than G: 72 ἔδρωτος G: ἰδρώτος P; 679 ὅτως G: οὕτως P; 711 Ἰάκωβ G: Ἰακώβ P; 712 τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ G (dittography): αὐτοὺς P. However, these cases are not important enough to undermine the conclusion that P is a copy of G. One may rather say that P, unlike so many other copies of low-style Byzantine texts, rarely corrects or rewords its model but as a rule copies correct and incorrect readings with equal care. In fact, P appears to be a more careful copy of its model than G itself, or its predecessor, since G contains quite a number of evident errors.

Henceforth P, being a copy of a still existing MS, will not be considered, except in the rare cases where it corrects a corrupt reading in G, or otherwise illuminates the textual tradition.

In addition to these I have used four other MSS, three of which represent the version β as described, analysed and edited by J.O. Rosenqvist (forthcoming).

### *The Vita Philareti compared to other texts contained in G*

While from a stemmatic point of view G alone represents *VPh* in its original version, it is clear that it not only contains a considerable number of errors but also presents many cases of incongruity and bad grammar which may either derive from the author or from a negligent earlier copyist. With respect to grammar and orthography the edition published here therefore rests on shaky foundations. The MS as a whole does not stand out as a specimen of particularly bad or careless grammar. To judge from a partial comparison between G and the editions of the other texts it contains it appears to have been written by a relatively careful copyist. This indicates that much of the bad grammar was also to be found in the MS copied by G. This is of course no guarantee that the original was also characterized by bad grammar, although this seems likely. In doubtful cases the later ver-

sions may offer some help, the version called  $\beta$  in particular,<sup>126</sup> although these versions must be used with caution, and, moreover, do not cover the whole contents of G. For an analysis and characterization of the later versions, see J.O. Rosenqvist (forthcoming).

## Principles of edition and translation

*Text.* Since, like Fourmy and Leroy, I think that G represents the original better than any other MS, the text published here follows G as closely as possible. Unfortunately, it is hard to know exactly how far G also reflects the original with regard to grammar and spelling. It is clear that G, here and there, contains errors that cannot derive from the author himself, as for instance ἐπιθέμενος for ἐπιλαθόμενος (96) and ἐσπέρας for ἐπάρας (68). In such cases G must be corrected. However, I stick to G when it deviates from traditional grammar, using fem. pl. -αις for -αι and inf. ποιῆσαι for ποιεῖν (or ποιῆσαι) and the like, and correct only when I see no means of defending G's reading. The exact borderline between possible and impossible readings is difficult to draw. From the point of view of logic and grammar the text presented here is therefore based on highly subjective judgements.

When the readings of G seem to be quite unlikely, I have, when possible, turned to V and the MSS belonging to the version  $\beta$ . V is in fact older than G, although it certainly represents a revised version, probably produced in the 10th century. The version  $\beta$  appears to be based on a MS independent of the branch of the tradition that is represented by G. Yet, as the revision was rather radical, particularly with regard to the content but to a certain extent also with regard to grammar and style, the version  $\beta$ , like V, must be used with extreme caution.

*Apparatus criticus.* It stands to reason that G's readings have been carefully noted in the critical apparatus. P, which was copied from G, is only mentioned in the rare cases where it offers a better text than G or when it happens to be of interest for some other reason. The  $\beta$  MSS are quoted whenever they correct an error in G or otherwise illuminate G's text. They are quoted from J.O. Rosenqvist's forthcoming edition of the later versions. They have therefore not been described and analysed in this intro-

<sup>126</sup> As represented by the MSS Barberinianus gr. 553 (17th C.), Patmiensis gr. 772 (17th C. ?), and Athos, Xenophontos 41 (17th C.).

duction. A proper analysis of this group of MSS will instead be found in Rosenqvist's edition.

*Translation.* I have tried to render the meaning of the text printed as clearly as possible. I have not tried to recreate in English the bad grammar, the pleonasm and the other linguistic imperfections found there. For instance, χρόνων ὧν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα γενόμενος (895f.) is simply rendered "when I was eighteen years old". Nor have I tried to create a style that would give an English-reading public the same impression of linguistic carelessness that the original must have given an educated Greek reader. No wonder that those who revised *VPh* in the 10th century and later not only made *VPh* conform to traditional hagiographic standards but also made it conform to traditional rules with regard to accident and syntax.

For the sake of clarity I have sometimes used a name where a personal pronoun would have been closer to the Greek.

Philaretos is often called γέρων 'old man', although he may not have been older than c. 55–65 years at the time of the events described. In English it seems to stress Philaretos' old age, but in Greek it more probably makes him stand out as venerable — note that γέρων also could mean 'monk'. When it really means 'monk', as at 740, it has of course been so translated.

In the many allusions to and quotations from the Bible I have on the one hand followed L.C.L. Brenton's translation of the Septuagint, and on the other the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament.

## Sigla

G = Genova Urbanus 34, 11th century

P = Parisinus gr. 1608, 14th century

B = Vat. Barberinianus gr. 553, 17th century

X = Athos, Xenophontos 41, 17th century

Y = Patmiensis 772, 17th century (?)

V = Parisinus gr. 1510, 10th century

$\beta$  = BXY



## TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES



# ΒΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΦΙΛΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝΟΣ

1 113 Ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Παφλαγόνων τοῦνομα Φιλάρετος, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν εὐγενὴς τῶν ἀπὸ Πόντου καὶ Γαλατικῆς χώρας, υἱὸς ὑπάρχων Γεωργίου τοῦ φερωνύμου. Ἦν δὲ πλούσιος σφόδρα, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κτήνη πολλά· βόες ἐξακόσιοι, ζεύγη βοῶν ἑκατόν, ἵπποι νομάδες ὀκτακόσιαι, ἵπποι καὶ ἡμίονοι τῆς προμοσέλλας αὐτοῦ ὀγδοήκοντα, πρόβατα χιλιάδες ἰβ', προάστια δὲ πολλῆς γῆς πεπληρωμένα μὴ, μονώτατα πάντα, ὥραϊα πάνυ καὶ πολλῆς τιμῆς ἄξια· κατέναντι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου πηγῇ ἦν βλύζουσα ἀπὸ κορυφῆς δυνάμενα ἄρδεῦσαι πάντα (115) τὰ χρῆζοντα ἄρῃσθαι ἐξ αὐτῆς κατὰ περίσσειαν. Καὶ οἰκείται πολλοὶ ὑπῆρχον αὐτῷ, καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ σφόδρα.

15 Εἶχε δὲ καὶ σύμβιον τοῦνομα Θεοσεβοῦν, καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπῆρχεν εὐγενὴς καὶ φοβούμενὴ τὸν κύριον. Ὑπῆρχον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τέκνα, παιδάριον ἐν πάνυ ὥραϊον τοῦνομα Ἰωάννης, καὶ θυγατέρες δύο, ὄνομα τῇ μιᾷ Ὑπατία καὶ ὄνομα τῇ δευτέρᾳ Εὐανθία, ὥραϊες δὲ 20 καὶ αὗται πάνυ.

Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐλεήμων σφόδρα, καὶ ὅτε ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν προσαιτῆς, εἴ τι ἂν αἰτεῖτο, ἐδίδου αὐτῷ μετὰ χαρᾶς εἰς πλησμονὴν πρότερον ἐκ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ εἴ τι ἂν ἐπεθύμει, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὸ ζητούμενον προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἀφωμοιωμένος ἀληθῶς τῷ φιλοξένῳ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰακώβ.

9 ἵπποι V: ἱππεῖς GB loc. om. XY || 9 ὀκτακόσιαι G: ὀκτακόσιοι V ἑπτακόσιοι B loc. om XY || 9-10 προμοσέλλας scripsi: προμοσέλας GB ὑπηρεσίας V om. XY || 12 κατέναντι...ἐκάστου scripsi: κατέναντι...ἐκάστη G κατέναντι γὰρ ἐκάστου XY καθ' ἑν γὰρ ἑκαστον αὐτῶν V Dölger καθ' ἑνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκλεκτὸν B || 13 δυνάμενα ἄρδεῦσαι G: δυνάμεν ἄρδεῦσαι corr. Dölger ἄρδεύουσα βV || 18 θυγατέρας G || 19 ὥραϊες: ὥραϊαις G ὥραϊαι BX ὥραϊα V ὥραϊα Y || 20 αὗται VX: αὗται G αὗται B αὕτη Y || 22 προσαιτῆς G: προσαιτῆς corr. F-L ||

<sup>1</sup> ἦν τις...Φιλάρετος: cf. Job 1:1.

<sup>2</sup> "the most" is not in the Greek.

<sup>3</sup> On the meaning of εὐγενής, see Introduction under "Philaretos' social status".

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος...χώρας: a paraphrase of the εὐγενὴς τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν Job 1:3, at the end, a phrase often quoted in the Lives of Anatolian saints. Unlike βV, G does not specify that Philaretos lived at Amnia until much later, cf. *infra* 384. Obviously, the author did not want to blur the allusion to the Book of Job, which βV destroy at once by adding a conventional prologue. As Amnia belonged to the jurisdiction of Gangra, the capital of Paphlago-

# THE LIFE AND CONDUCT OF OUR FATHER PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL NOW AMONG THE SAINTS

## 1. Philaretos' wealth, family and way of life

In the land of the Paphlagonians there was a man called Philaretos,<sup>1</sup> and this man was the most<sup>2</sup> noble<sup>3</sup> of the men in Pontos and the Galatian region,<sup>4</sup> the son of George, a farmer as the name says. He was very rich and had many livestock: six hundred head of cattle, one hundred yoke of oxen, eight hundred mares in the pastures, eighty saddle horses and mules,<sup>5</sup> twelve thousand sheep<sup>6</sup> and he had forty-eight estates abounding in land, all separate, very beautiful and of great value, for in front of each one of them<sup>7</sup> there was a well gushing forth from a hilltop, capable of watering everything that needed water from it in abundance.<sup>8</sup> And he had many slaves and very great possessions.<sup>9</sup>

He also had a wife called Theosebo, who was likewise of noble birth<sup>10</sup> and feared the Lord. They also had children, one very beautiful young boy called John and two daughters, one called Hypatia and the other Euanthia, they too very beautiful.

The man was very compassionate. When a beggar came to him asking for something, whatever it was, he first gladly offered him what he wanted from his table in satiety and then gave him what he was looking for, sending him away in peace, truly resembling the hospitable Abraham and

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nia, one wonders why Galatia is also mentioned. The reason may be that the inhabitants of Amnia regarded themselves as originally being Galatians, see Feissel, "Contribution" 376f., and C. Mango – E.J.W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963", *DOP* 18 (1964), 319–340, esp. 333.

<sup>5</sup> According to J.J. Reiske the enigmatic προμοσέλλα is a *seminarium equorum imperialium*, *e quo sella seu sellarii equi, Sattelpferde, depromuntur*, see his edition of *De cer.*, II, 500; cf. also Du Cange 1245 s.v.

<sup>6</sup> βόες ἐξακόσιοι...χιλιάδες ιβ': cf. Job 1:3.

<sup>7</sup> Or, according to V: "at each of them".

<sup>8</sup> For the great number of separate estates cf. *DigAkr*, ed. Jeffreys, IV, 710 (among other things the dowry contained) κτήματα πολλά ἀκίνητα τριανταεξ εἰσόδων. According to Nesbitt, "Significance", 157, limited water supply was the reason for the fragmentation of the holdings. One gets the impression that the "estates" were small and located within a relatively small area, and that they could be controlled by a resident landowner, who did not have to travel long distances. See further on this question Kaplan, *Hommes et terre*, 332, note 372.

<sup>9</sup> κτήματα πολλά: cf. Matt. 19:22. For this whole paragraph cf. Kaplan, *Hommes et terre*, 332f.

<sup>10</sup> This also indicates that Philaretos' father George was not a simple farmer but in fact a prominent person.

Ἐποίει δὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ χρόνους πολλούς. Ἐξάκουστον δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καὶ τῇ περιχώρῳ ἐκείνῃ ἢ τοῦτου ἐλεημοσύνη. Καὶ εἰ τινος βοῦς ἡστόχησεν ἢ ἵππος ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν μακάριον ἄνδρα μετὰ θάρσους, ὡς εἰς ἰδίαν  
 30 ἀγέλην ἀπερχόμενος, καὶ ἐλάμβανεν ἕκαστος εἰ τι ἂν χρεῖαν εἶχεν, καὶ οἶον ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης αὐτοῦ ἀπώλεσεν, ἀπερχόμενος ἐλάμβανεν οἶον ἂν ᾗθελεν. Καὶ ὅσον ἐδίδου, τοσοῦτον ἐπληθύνετο.

Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ διάβολος τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν ἐζή-  
 35 λωσεν αὐτόν ὥς ποτε τὸν Ἰώβ, καὶ ἐξαιτεῖται τοῦτον πτωχεῦσαι καὶ τότε ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπλότητα. Οὐδὲν γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἔφησεν ὁ διάβολος ποιῆσειν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκ τῶν περισσευμάτων αὐτοῦ παρέχων τοῖς πένησιν. Εἴτα λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ — ἀδύνατον γὰρ αὐτόν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι χωρὶς  
 40 θεοῦ, κύριος γὰρ πτωχίζει καὶ πλουτίζει, ταπεινοῖ καὶ ἀνυψοῖ, ἀνιστᾷ ἀπὸ γῆς πένητα καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἐγείρει πτωχόν, κατὰ τὴν τῆς προφήτιδος Ἀννης φωνήν — εἴτα ἀδιαλείπτως τοῦ ἀνδρός διανέμοντος τοῖς πτωχοῖς τὰ τε κτήνη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἂν ἐξεπόρει, τοῦ θεοῦ παυσαμένου τῷ ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ἑκατον-  
 45 ταπλασίονα, τέλος πάντων διὰ τε τῆς δόσεως, διὰ τε αἰχμαλωσίας τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν, διὰ τε ἐτέρων πολλῶν προφάσεων πέρας ἤλασε τοῦτον εἰς ἄκραν πενίας ὥστε καταλειφθῆναι αὐτῷ ἐν ζευγος βοῶν καὶ ἓνα ἵππον καὶ ἓνα ὄνον καὶ μίαν βουθηλίαν μετὰ τοῦ μόσχου αὐτῆς, καὶ ἓνα δοῦλον καὶ μίαν παιδίσκην, τὰ δὲ  
 50 προάστια αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀρπαγῆναι ὑπὸ (117) τῶν γειτονευόντων δυναστῶν καὶ γεωργῶν. Ὡς γὰρ εἶδον αὐτόν πτωχεύοντα καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον αὐτὰ κατέχειν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν, οἱ μὲν τυραννικῶς, οἱ δὲ παρακλητικῶς διεμερίσαντο τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, ἐάσαντες αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ κατέμενεν καὶ τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον  
 55 αὐτοῦ.

Εἴτα ταῦτα πάντα παθὼν οὐδέποτε ἐλυπήθη ἢ ἐβλασφήμησεν ἢ ἡγανάκτησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὅτε ἐξαπίνης πλουτήσῃ ἄνθρωπος

26-27 ἐξάκουστον...ἐλεημοσύνη G: ἐξάκουστον δὲ ἐγένετο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ... B<sup>V</sup> malim ἐξάκουστος...ἐλεημοσύνη || 32 τοσοῦτον G: διπλάσιον B<sup>YV</sup> διπλοῦν X || 37 ποιῆσειν (ποιήσιν G): ποιεῖν B<sup>YV</sup> loc. om. X || 44 ἐξεπόρει G<sup>Y</sup>: ἐξευπόρει B<sup>X</sup> ἡπόρει V || 44 τῷ (sic G): μὴ B<sup>X</sup> al. V loc. om. Y || 46 πέρας scripsi: διῆς πέρας G τὸ δὲ πέρας B<sup>X</sup> τὸ πέρας Y om. V διασπείρας conl. F-L || 49 δὲ B<sup>V</sup>: om. G ||

<sup>11</sup> Concerning Abraham, see Gen. 18:2-8; cf. also *infra* 137,34-139,1. It is not clear why in this context the author also refers to Jacob; perhaps he wants to indicate that Philaretos was 'simple' like Jacob.

Jacob.<sup>11</sup> Thus Philaretos did during many years.<sup>12</sup> His compassion became famous in that region as well as in the whole East. And if through an accident somebody lost his ox or horse or some other beast, he went to the blessed man with confidence as if going to his own herd, and each man got what he needed. And whatever one lost from one's herd one could go to him and receive what one wanted. And the more he gave away, the more his possessions multiplied.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Philaretos tested by the devil

When the devil saw the man's virtuous conduct, he became jealous of him as he once had been jealous of Job and demanded to have him, that he might make him poor and then see if he would show the same generosity. For, the devil said, the man does nothing marvellous when he gives to the poor out of his abundance.<sup>14</sup> He then obtained authority from God — for it was not possible for him to do this without God's permission, since the Lord makes poor, and makes rich; He brings low, and lifts up. He lifts up the poor from the earth, and raises the needy from the dunghill, according to the utterance of the prophetess Anna<sup>15</sup> — and while the man continued to distribute among the poor his cattle and the other things in which he abounded, God ceased to repay a hundredfold. At last, using his open-handedness, the cattle-lifting of the Ishmaelites and numerous other methods, the devil managed to drive him to utter poverty so that he was left with no more than one yoke of oxen and one horse and one ass and one cow with its calf and one slave<sup>16</sup> and one slave-girl, while all his farms were plundered by the neighbouring mighty and farmers, for, seeing that he was poor and unable to keep them and till his own soil, they divided his land among themselves, some using force, others entreating him, leaving him the property<sup>17</sup> on which he lived and the house that he had inherited from his father.

Then, although he suffered all this, he never grieved nor blasphemed nor became angry, but as when a man who suddenly becomes rich is filled with

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Job 1:5, at the end.

<sup>13</sup> The author here expresses an idea that often appears in 7th-century texts, see V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* (Uppsala, 1995), in the chapter "L'économie miraculeuse", 238ff. For the last sentence cf. also the notice on Myron, bishop of Crete in the reign of Decius, *SynaxCP*, col. 876, lines 5–6 Οἱ δὲ καρποὶ ὅσον ἐπεδίδου μᾶλλον τοσοῦτον ἐπεδαψίλευον, and *VBasilun*, fol. 29v, ed. Vilinskij 300,4–6, see *supra* under "Was Philaretos a happy fool?", note 4.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Job 1:6–12.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Kings 2:7–8.

<sup>16</sup> As Ludwig, *Sonderformen* 97 and 103 observes, this is the first and last time this person is mentioned.

<sup>17</sup> Or, according to some, 'village'.

χαρᾶς ἀνάπλεως γίνεται, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος πτωχεύσας ἔχαιρε, ὥς  
 μέγα φορτίον ἀποβαλλόμενος τὸν πλοῦτον, μάλιστα κατὰ νοῦν  
 60 ἔχων τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου λεχθὲν τὸ Δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρήματα  
 ἔχοντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πάλιν·  
 Εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστι κάμηλον διὰ τρυμαλιᾶς ῥαφίδος διελθεῖν ἢ  
 πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. Ἐν τούτῳ ὁ  
 ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀνεύθυνος πλοῦτος φαίνεται ἔαν παρόντος τοῦ  
 65 πλούτου καλῶς τούτῳ χρησώμεθα καὶ ἔαν ἀπόντος ἀλύπως τοῦτο  
 ἐνέγκωμεν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Καλὸς ὁ πλοῦτος τοῖς καλῶς  
 διοικοῦσιν, καὶ καλὴ ἡ πενία τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν.

Ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐπάρας τὸ ζευγάριον αὐτοῦ ἑαυτὸς σὺν  
 τῷ ἀρότρῳ λαβὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ χωράφιον αὐτοῦ ἀροτριᾶν.  
 70 Ἀροτριῶντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντος τῷ θεῷ ὅτι κατηξιώθη  
 τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιτίμιον τοῦ θεοῦ φυλάξαι ὅτι Μετὰ κόπου καὶ  
 ἰδρώτος φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ὅτι Οὕτως  
 δεῖ κοπιῶντας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων, καὶ πάλιν· Εἴ  
 75 τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω, αἰδεσθεὶς τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 ἐντολῶν καὶ πάσης χαρᾶς ἀνάπλεως γενόμενος ἤλαυνε τὸ ζεῦγος  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον, αὐτὸς μὴδ' ὅλως κοπιάσας ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς χαρᾶς.  
 Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν τὸ ζεῦγος ἀτονήσαντα, μνησθεὶς πάλιν τὸ  
 γεγραμμένον ὅτι Μακάριος ὁ οἰκτίρων ψυχὰς κτηνῶν αὐτοῦ,  
 80 στήσας τὸ ζεῦγος προσηύχετο εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ  
 πενίᾳ.

Τινὸς δὲ γεωργοῦ πτωχοῦ ἀροτριῶντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 χώραν ἔπεσεν ἄφην ὁ βοῦς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέθανεν. Μὴ φέρων δὲ τὴν  
 85 ζημίαν ἤρξατο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ κλαίειν, μετὰ οἰκτου πολλοῦ  
 ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων πρὸς τὸν θεόν· “Κύριε, ἄλλο τίποτε οὐχ  
 (119) ὑπῆρχέν μοι εἰ μὴ τὸ ζεῦγος τοῦτο, καὶ ὑστέρησάς μοι καὶ

59 ἀποβαλλόμενος G: ἀποβαλόμενος P || 62 διελθεῖν Mc 10:25: εἰσελθεῖν G om.  
 βV || 63-64 ὁ...πλοῦτος B: καὶ ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἀνεύθυνος πλοῦτος G ὁ πλοῦτος Y loc. om.  
 VX || 65 τοῦτο corr. F-L: τοῦτον G om B. loc. om. VX || 68 ἐπάρας scripsi: ἐσπέρας G  
 βV || 69 ἐπορεύθη: sic G ἐπορεύθη βV || 69 τὸ χωράφιον G: τὴν χώραν  
 βV || 70 ἀροτριῶντος correxi: -όντος G al. βV || 70 εὐχαριστοῦντος VG (post corr.?)  
 BY: -όντος P al. X || 71 τὸ...ἐπιτίμιον scripsi: τοῦ...ἐπιτιμίου Gβ loc. om. V || 71 τοῦ  
 θεοῦ...ὅτι G: φυλάξαι τὴν ἐντολὴν τὸ (τὴν B) BY al. X κατηξιώθη...ὅτι om. V ||  
 72 ἰδρώτος: ἰδρώτος G ἰδρώτος P || 72 φάγη: φαγῇ G φαγείν β ἐσθίει V ||  
 73 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι V: ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι Gβ || 82 ἀροτριῶντος BYV: -όντος GP  
 -οῦντος X ||

<sup>18</sup> Mark 10:23.

<sup>19</sup> Mark 10:25

joy, so this man rejoiced when he became poor, throwing off his wealth like a great burden, especially as he had in mind the utterance of the Lord: "It will be hard for those who have riches to enter the kingdom of God",<sup>18</sup> and again: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God".<sup>19</sup> Dispassionate and innocent wealth manifests itself in that we use it well when at hand and when lacking bear the loss without grieving, as it has been written: wealth is an asset to those who know how to handle it, while poverty is an asset to those who can endure it.<sup>20</sup>

### 3. Philaretos gives away his last property, his house excepted

#### a. The yoke of oxen

One day he took his yoke of oxen and his plough and went himself to his field to plough.<sup>21</sup> Ploughing and thanking God that he had been counted worthy of observing God's first penalty clause: "With difficulty and sweat you shall eat your bread",<sup>22</sup> and the word of the Apostle: "By so toiling one must help the weak",<sup>23</sup> and again: "If anyone will not work, let him not eat",<sup>24</sup> respecting God's commands and becoming filled with complete joy, he drove his yoke beyond measure without growing weary himself because of his great joy. But as he saw his yoke being exhausted, he also remembered that it is written: "Blessed is he who has pity for the lives of his cattle",<sup>25</sup> stopped the yoke and prayed to God, thanking Him for such poverty.

A poor peasant was also ploughing his field when suddenly his ox fell down and died.<sup>26</sup> Not bearing the loss he began to grieve and cry. Under much wailing and lamenting he spoke to God: "Lord, I had nothing but this yoke, yet you deprived me of this too. With what shall I feed my wife and

<sup>20</sup> For this saying, Fourmy and Leroy refer to Isocrates, *Ad Demonium*, 28–29, whereas Kazhdan–Sherry, "Happy Fool," 359 refer to John Chrysostom, *De eleemosyna*, PG 60: 707, 34–35: καλὸν γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος τοῖς καλῶς διαικοῦσιν αὐτόν· καλὴ ἡ πενία τοῖς καλῶς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτήν, which is more to the point. Moreover, in this treatise Job is praised for being as blameless when he was stricken by poverty as he had been as a rich man.

<sup>21</sup> For the pleonastic λαβὼν cf. *infra*, line 895f. χρόνων ὧν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα γενόμενος. That the ἑσπέρας of G cannot be right is shown by line 133f. *infra*, where Philaretos blames the loss of his ox on the scorching heat of the sun.

<sup>22</sup> Gen. 3:19.

<sup>23</sup> Acts 20:35.

<sup>24</sup> 2 Thess. 3:10.

<sup>25</sup> Prov. 12:10. Note, however, that instead of μακάριος ὁ οἰκτίρων the Septuagint has δίκαιος οἰκτεῖρει "a righteous man has pity".

<sup>26</sup> Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, rightly compares the following episode with *VEustratii*, ch. 13, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 377,9–22. For the sudden death of the ox, cf. *MirGeorgii*, in Krumbacher, *Der hl. Georg*, 48,17.

αὐτό· πόθεν θρέψω τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ θ' μου τέκνα τὰ νήπια; πῶς δὲ καὶ φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ τελέσω; πόθεν τὰ δάνη μου ἀποπληρώσω; Σὺ γὰρ ἐπίστασαι, κύριε, ὅτι ὁ βοῦς ὁ ἀποθανὼν  
 90 ἀπὸ χρέους ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ τί πράξαι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. Καταλείψω λοιπὸν τὸν οἶκόν μου καὶ ἀποδράσω εἰς χώραν μακρὰν πρὶν ἢ γνῶσουσιν οἱ χρεωφειλέται μου καὶ ἐπιπέσουσίν μοι ὥσπερ θῆρες ἄγριοι. Ὡς κύριε, εἴθε μὴ ἐπτάχουσας οὕτως τὸν φιλόπτωχον Φιλάρετον τὸν Ἀμνιάτην, ἐπορεύθην ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ  
 95 παρρησίας καὶ λαβὼν ἕτερον βοῦν ὑπέζευξα τῷ ζυγῷ μου, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ βοός μου τὸν θάνατον. Ἀλλὰ νῦν κἀκεῖνος ἄλλων ἐνδεὴς γέγονεν.”

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λογιζομένου εἶπεν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· “Ὅμως ἀπέλθω πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κἂν ἀφηγήσομαι τὴν ἐμὴν συμφορὰν τῷ ποτε  
 100 τροφέᾳ τῶν ξένων, ἵνα κἂν συνθρήνησῃ μοι καὶ λάβω τινὰν παραμυθίαν τῆς λύπης — οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκπορεῖ δοῦναί μοι τι —, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλεημοσύνην οὐκ ἐπελάθετο. Ἔθος γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτε ὁρῶσιν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους συνθρηνοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν παρηγορίαν τινὰ λαμβάνειν, καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐπραγίᾳ αὐτῶν τοὺς συγχαιρομένους αὐτοῖς  
 105 πλείονα χαρὰν ἔχουσιν καὶ πλέον τὴν ἀγάπην εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνάπτουσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· Χαίρειν μετὰ χαίρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων, τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονούντες, μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονούντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπτόμενοι,  
 110 τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῖς πτωχεύουσι συμπτωχεῦσαι, τοῖς κλαίουσι συγκαλαίειν, τῶν ἀδυνάτων συμβοηθεῖν, τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ πλούτῳ ἀδήλῳ.” Ἄρας δὲ τὸ βούκεντρον αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν ποτε πλούσιον, τὸν ἀληθῶς φιλάρετον καὶ μηδέπω τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον.  
 115 Εἶτα ἀπελθόντος τοῦ γεωργοῦ καὶ εὐρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀροτριῶντα τὸν δίκαιον ἤρξατο μετὰ δακρύων διηγέσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βοός. Ἄμα δὲ ἀκοῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν δίκαιον περὶ τοῦ βοός εὐθέως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ζυγοῦ ἔδωκεν τῷ γεωργῷ, (121) κρεῖττον ἡγησάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ συγκαλοῦσαι διὰ τοῦ δόματος  
 120 παραμυθίσασθαι τὴν ζημίαν. Ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς διεκρίνετο λέγων·

92 χρεωφειλέται G: δανεισταί βV || 96 ἐπιλαθόμενος BV: ἐπιθέμενος G loc. om. XY || 99–100 τῷ...τροφέᾳ: τῷ...τροφαίᾳ G τὸν...τροφέᾳ BY om. XV || 100 τινὰν G: μικρὰν βV || 101 ἐκπορεῖ G: ἐμπορεῖ Y πορεῖ B εὐπορεῖ V om. X || 104 τινὰ βV: τι G || 105 αὐτοῖς corr. F–L: αὐτοὺς G || 106 χαρὰν F–L: χαράς G χάριν BXV loc. om. Y || 109 συναπτόμενοι G: συναπαγόμενοι βV (συνεπ– C), ut ep. Rom. 12:16 || 110–111 α τοῖς κλαίουσι usque ad –χρίθη (lin. 162) lacunam habet B || 110–111 συγκαλαίειν YV: συγκαλαίειν G loc. om. X || 111 τῶν ἀδυνάτων G: τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις YV loc. om. X ||

my nine small children?<sup>27</sup> How shall I also be able to pay taxes to the emperor? With what shall I pay my debts? Lord, you know that the ox that died had been bought on credit, and I am at a loss what to do. Therefore I shall leave home and run away to a far country<sup>28</sup> before my creditors<sup>29</sup> find out and fall upon me like wild beasts. O Lord, would that you had not impoverished Philaretos the Amnian, the friend of the poor, otherwise I would have gone to him with confidence and received another ox and put it under my yoke, forgetting about the death of my ox. But now he has also become dependent on others."

Absorbed in these thoughts he said to himself: "I shall go to him all the same and at least tell him, the onetime supporter of the strangers, of my disaster, so that he can at least share my sorrow and I may get some comfort in my distress (although I know that he cannot give me anything), since he has certainly not forgotten his old compassion. For when people notice that their friends share their distress when they are hit by disaster they usually get some consolation, and when they see those who share their joy when they are successful they feel even more joy and are inspired with more love for them. Therefore the apostle says, 'Rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep; live in harmony with one another; do not be haughty, but assist the lowly',<sup>30</sup> that is, to be poor with the poor, to weep with those who weep, to help the weakly, to assist the sick<sup>31</sup>, and not to set one's hope on uncertain wealth." Taking his ox-goad he went away to the once rich man, the real lover of virtue<sup>32</sup>, who had not yet forgotten his virtues.

Then when the peasant had gone away and found the righteous man ploughing he began in tears to tell him<sup>33</sup> of the death of his ox. No sooner had the righteous man heard the beginning of the story of the ox than he at once hastily gave the peasant one from his own yoke, considering it better to make up for his loss with this gift than to weep with him. The peasant

113 βούκεντρον: βούκενδρον G βούπληγαν Y βούν τόν ἕτερον X βουπληῖγα V || 115 ἀροτριῶντα V: ὄντα G -όντα XY || 116 αὐτοῦ G: om. β V malim αὐτῷ sed cf. *infra* lin. 714 || 117 ἀκοῦσαι G: τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι YV τὸ ἀκοῦσαι X || 119 ἡ ante παρ' suppl. F-L ||

<sup>27</sup> Kaplan, *Hommes et terre*, 497, observes that the man cannot have had nine *small* children, since this would presuppose an unlikely low mortality and also that several of the children were twins.

<sup>28</sup> εἰς χώραν μακράν: cf. Luke 15:13; of course, this phrase should not be taken literally.

<sup>29</sup> Instead of χρεωφειλέται, which usually means 'debtors' and not 'creditors', one would expect δανεισταί as in β, but cf. *infra*, line 814.

<sup>30</sup> Χαίρειν...συναπτόμενοι: cf. Rom. 12:15-16. Instead of συναπτόμενοι β, like the NT, has συναπαγόμενοι "associate with".

<sup>31</sup> Acts 20:35.

<sup>32</sup> This is the meaning of Philaretos' name.

<sup>33</sup> For αὐτοῦ = αὐτῷ cf. "Grammatical index" s.v. Case.



“Κυρίε μου, ἐν οἷδα ὅτι ἕτερος βοῦς οὐχ ὑπάρχει σοι, καὶ πῶς ἔχεις ἀπαροτριᾶσαι τὴν χώραν σου;” Ἐφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἔστι μοι ἕτερος βοῦς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας σφόδρα, ὅστις ἰσχύει ὅλον τὸν οἶκόν μου διαθρέψαι. Λαβὼν μόνον τοῦτον σὺ  
125 ἀπότρεχε, μὴ ἐξαργῇ τὸ ἕτερόν σου βοῖδιν καὶ οἱ τοῦ οἴκου σου γνῶσωνται καὶ ἡ σύμβιός σου καὶ θρηνήσῃ πλέον σου.” Λαβὼν δὲ ὁ γεωργὸς τὸν βοῦν ἐπορεύθη μετὰ χαρᾶς δοξάζων τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὐχόμενος τῷ Φιλαρέτῳ.

Ἄρας δὲ ὁ τίμιος καὶ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ τὸν μονώτατον βοῦν καὶ  
130 τὸν ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον χαίρων ἀπῆει. Θεασαμένη δὲ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἕνα βοῦν καὶ τὸν ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ γέροντος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κυρίε μου, ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἕτερος βοῦς;” Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· “Ὀλιγορήσας ἤμην ἐν τῷ καύματι τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ἔλυσα τοὺς βόας ἵνα βόσκωνται. Κἀγὼ  
135 μικρὸν ἀναπαυσάμενος, ὕπνω δὲ κατασχεθεὶς, ἐξηνιάσθην ὁ βοῦς καὶ ἀπέδρα ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγρόν.”

Ἐξελθὼν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγύρευεν τὸν βοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγρόν. Γυρεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εὔρε τὸν γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα μετὰ τοῦ βοός αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πολλοῦ θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ἤρξατο ὑβρίζειν τὸν γεωργόν,  
140 λέγων ὅτι “Πῶς ἐτόλμησας σὺ ἀλλότριον βοῦν τῷ σῷ ζυγῷ κατοχεῦσαι; ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅτι εἰς τοὺς νεκροὺς ἡμᾶς κατεψηφίσασθε, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοσοῦτου πλοῦτου εἰς τοσαύτην πενίαν ἐλθόντας.” Ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· “Τέκνον καλόν, ὁ πατήρ σου δέδωκέν μοι τὸν βοῦν.” Καὶ ἐξηγήσατο αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν  
145 συμφοράν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος ὅτι ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ δέδωκε τὸν βοῦν ἀνεχώρησεν μετὰ λύπης εἰς τὰ ἴδια καὶ ἀνῆγγειλεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ βοός. Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα, ρίψασα τὸ φακίολιον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἤρξατο τίλλειν τὰς τρίχας αὐτῆς. Καὶ πορευθεῖσα  
150 πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα ἐλοιδορεῖ αὐτὸν λέγουσα· “Χαλκὸςπλαγχνε, ναὶ ἐμέ οὐκ ἔλεᾶς τὴν κακῶς σε γνωρίσασαν, κἂν τὰ τέκνα σου ἐλέησον μὴ ἔχοντα τὸ (123) πῶς ζῆσαι ἐκτὸς ζευγαρίου. Ἀλλὰ σύ, ἀκαμάτα, περιεκάκης ἐλαύνων τὸ ζευγάριν καὶ θέλων κοιμᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ σκίον, τούτου χάριν αὐτὸ δέδωκας, ἐπεὶ οὐχὶ διὰ  
155 τὸν θεόν.”

Ὁ δὲ πρᾶεὺς φέρων τῆς γυναικὸς τὰς λοιδορίας ἐμειδία μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, μηδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος, ἵνα μὴ τῷ θυμῷ συναρπαγείῃς τὴν

124 σύ: σοι G<sup>om</sup>. XY || 128 malim ἐπευχόμενος ut infra || 135 ἐξηνιάσθην: sic G || 138 ἀροτριῶντα G: al. XYV || 151 ἐλεᾶς: sic G (post ras.?) || 152 μὴ ἔχοντα...ζῆσαι scripsi: τὸ πῶς ἔχουσι ζῆσαι G || 154 σκίον G: σκιάν βV (sed cf. linguam Gr. hod. ἱσκίος) || 154 αὐτὸ: αὐτῷ G αὐτοῦ P || 156 μὲν G: om. βV ||

hesitated and said, "My lord, one thing I know, that you have no other ox, how then will you till your field?" He said to him, "At home I have another ox, very strong and big, that can support all my family. Only take this animal and hurry home, lest your other ox should be idle and your household should know and your wife start crying even more than you." The peasant took the ox and went his way with joy, praising God and blessing Philaretos.

The honourable and righteous man took his last and only ox and the yoke on his shoulder and returned home, rejoicing. When his wife saw only one ox and the yoke on the old man's<sup>34</sup> shoulder, she said to him, "My lord, where is the other ox?" He answered, "I became giddy in the scorching heat of the sun and unharnessed the oxen so that they could graze. I rested a little, and as I fell asleep, the ox broke loose and ran away to the field."<sup>35</sup>

His son went out to the field to look for the ox. As he searched he found the peasant ploughing with Philaretos' ox. Infuriated he began to abuse the peasant, saying, "How did you dare to put another man's ox under your yoke? Truly you have reckoned us among the dead, who from such wealth have been reduced to such poverty!" The peasant answered him, "My good son, your father gave me the ox." And he also told him of his own misfortune.

When the lad heard that his father had given away the ox he went home in sorrow and told his mother what had happened to it. When she heard this, she threw her kerchief from her head and began to tear her hair.<sup>36</sup> She went to her husband, upbraided him and said, "You who have got a heart of steel<sup>37</sup>, certainly you have no pity on me who was unlucky enough to make your acquaintance, but at least have pity on your children, who do not know how they shall be able to live without a yoke of oxen. But you, idler, grew tired of driving your team of oxen, and wanting to lie down in the shadow, for this reason you gave it to him, for it was certainly not for the sake of God."

But he listened meekly to his wife's reproaches with a smile on his face and made no answer, lest he would be carried away by anger and destroy

<sup>34</sup> τοῦ γέροντος does not necessarily mean that Philaretos is old. As mentioned in the Introduction, it rather expresses respect, as when γέρων is used of a monk like our 'father'.

<sup>35</sup> This particular excuse also appears in *MirGeorg*, ed. Aufhauser, 44ff.

<sup>36</sup> A common gesture, cf. *Acta Joannis* ed. Zahn, 25,13-26,2 ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ Ῥωμᾶνα ταῦτα, τὸ διάδημα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ῥίψασα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τριχῶν ἐπιλαβομένη μετὰ κλαυθοῦ καὶ ὀδυροῦ πικροτάτου ἤρξατο λέγειν· οἶμοι...

<sup>37</sup> Lit. 'copper'.

πραχθεῖσαν ἐλεημοσύνην ἀφανίσῃ. Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ  
 θαυμαστός, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐπιμελεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 160 διακρίσεως πλήρης ὑπάρχων καὶ ταπεινώσεως ταύταις ταῖς  
 ἀρεταῖς συνεκίρνα τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ. Πολλὰ δὲ λοιδορησάσης αὐτῆς  
 ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς τοῦτο μόνον ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ  
 ὅτι “Ὁ θεὸς πλούσιός ἐστι πολὺ καὶ ἀκούω αὐτοῦ λέγοντος·  
 Ἀναβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅτι οὐ σπεύρουσιν οὐδὲ  
 165 θερίζουσιν οὔτε εἰς ἀποθήκην συνάγουσιν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος  
 τρέφει αὐτά· πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς διαθρέψει, κρείττονας τῶν  
 πετεινῶν ὑπάρχοντας. Καὶ πάλιν· Μὴ μεριμνήσητε περὶ τῆς  
 αὔριον, τί φάγητε ἢ τί πίητε ἢ τί ἐνδύσησθε· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα  
 τὰ ἔθνη ποιοῦσι· ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ  
 170 ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. Πλὴν δὲ λέγω· Ἐκατονταπλα-  
 σίονα ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι τοὺς ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου  
 διαδόντας τὰ ἑαυτῶν χρήματα, καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονόμους  
 ποιῆσαι. Θλίβεσαι ἐὰν εἰς τὸν ἓνα βοῦν ἀπολάβωμεν ἑκατόν;”  
 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν οὐ τὰ ἑκατονταπλασίονα ἀπολαβεῖν ἔνθεν  
 175 ἐπιποθῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν ὀλιγοψυχίαν παραμυθούμενος.  
 Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐσιώπησεν.

Εἶτα μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας βοσκόμενος ὁ βοῦς τοῦ γεωργοῦ ὁ πρὶν  
 ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ μηδὲ φυγὼν τὴν βλάβην τοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ  
 ἐπιλεγομένου λυκοβότανος καταπιὼν αὐτὸ ἄφνω τρομάξας  
 180 κατέπεσεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀπέθανεν. Ἐπάρας δὲ τὸν  
 βοῦν ὃν παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἐλεήμονος ἀνδρὸς ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτόν  
 καὶ εἶπεν· “Ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἦν ἐργασάμην εἰς τὰ παιδία σου  
 ἐπάρας τὸν βοῦν ἐκ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα τῇ ἐμῇ προθέσει λιμο-  
 κτονήσας, τούτου χάριν οὐκ ἀνείχετο ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀδιακρισίαν μου  
 185 καὶ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βοῦν.”

(125) Ὁ δὲ φιλόθεος καὶ φιλάρετος ἀληθῶς ἀνὴρ εὐθέως  
 ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη καὶ φέρας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βοῦν τὸν μεμο-  
 νωμένον ἔδωκε τὸν γεωργὸν εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Λάβε καὶ τοῦτον  
 καὶ πορεύου ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰς ὁδὸν μακρὰν  
 190 βούλομαι ἀποδημῆσαι καὶ ὥς οὕτως ὁ βοῦς ἐξαργεῖν ἔχει.” Τοῦτο  
 δὲ ἔλεγεν ἵνα μὴ ὑποσταλῇ ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπάραι τὸν βοῦν. Λαβὼν δὲ  
 καὶ τοῦτον ἐπορεύετο μετὰ χαρᾶς δοξαζῶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ θαυμάζων  
 καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπλότητα, ὅτι καὶ τοσοῦτον πτωχεύσας τὴν  
 ἐλεημοσύνην οὐκ ἐπελάθετο.

159 ἐπιμελεῖτο GY: ἐπεμελεῖτο XV || 160–61 ταύταις...ἀρεταῖς GV: ταύταις Y loc. om. X ταύτας...ἀρετάς corr. F–L || 161 συνεκίρνα...ἐλεημοσύνη G: ἐκίρνα τὴν εὐποιῶν YV loc. om. C || 162 ἀπεκρίθη: post lacunam resumit B || 171 τοὺς YV: τοῖς BX τοῦ G (etiam P) || 172 ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ζωῆς αἰωνίου post corr. G (etiam P) ||

what he had done out of charity. So admirable was the man that he not only devoted himself to charity but also, being full of discerning and humbleness, mixed his charity with these virtues<sup>38</sup>. As she continued to reproach him in the bitterness of her soul<sup>39</sup>, he answered her and said, "God is very rich and I hear Him saying: 'Look up to the birds in the sky: they neither sow nor reap nor gather into a barn, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. How much more shall He not nourish us, who are superior to the birds?'"<sup>40</sup> And further: 'Do not be anxious about tomorrow, what you shall eat or what you shall drink or what you shall put on, for the gentiles do all these things, but seek the kingdom of heavens, and all these things shall be yours as well'.<sup>41</sup> But I say: 'He promised to give a hundredfold to those who for His sake and for the Gospel distributed their riches, and to make them heirs of eternal life.'<sup>42</sup> Do you become distressed if for one ox we receive one hundred?" This he said not because he longed to receive a hundredfold in this world but to encourage his feeble-minded wife<sup>43</sup>. When the woman heard this, she became silent.

Then after five days, as the ox that had belonged to the peasant from the beginning was grazing, it did not escape the dangerous poison called the wolf's herb, but swallowed it and suddenly fell to the ground with a tremble and died. Taking the ox that he had received from the merciful man he went to him and said, "Because of the sin I committed against your children when I took the ox from you and starved them on purpose, for this reason God did not bear with my lack of concern<sup>44</sup> but killed the other ox also."

But the man, being a real friend of God and a lover of virtue, got up at once and fetched his other and only ox, which he gave to the peasant, saying, "Take this as well and go and till your own soil, for I am going on a long journey so that the ox will be idle anyway." This he said, lest the peasant hesitate to accept the ox. But he took also this one and went his way filled with joy and praising God, marvelling at the man's generosity, that he had not forgotten his compassion, although he had lapsed into such poverty.

173 ποιῆσαι scripsi: ποιήσει Gal. βV || 179 λυκοβότανος G: λυκοβοτάνου BY έλεβόρου V om. X || 181 ὃν βV: δ G || 182 ἐργασάμην. GBY: εἰργ- Val. X || 183 ταῦτα B: ταύτη G al. V loc. om. XY || 188 τὸν γεωργόν G: τῷ γεωργῷ BYV αὐτῷ X ||

<sup>38</sup> Lit. "mixed these virtues with his charity". For the double dative, see under "Grammatical index".

<sup>39</sup> For ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς cf. Sirach 4:7 par.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Matt. 6:26.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Matt. 6:34, 25, 32, 33.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Matt. 19: 21 and 29 par.

<sup>43</sup> Lit. "the faintheartedness of his wife", cf. 1 Thess. 5:14.

<sup>44</sup> Lit. 'lack of discernment'.

- 195 Ἦρξαντο δὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ θρηνεῖν ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν  
λέγοντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι “Κακῶς ἐγνωρίσαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
τοῦτον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπτωχεύσαμεν, εἵχαμεν παραμυθίαν τὸ ζευγος  
τῶν βοῶν, ὅτι τῷ λιμῷ οὐ μὴ διαφθαρεῶμεν.” Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος γέρων  
εἰδὼς τὸν ὀλολυγμὸν τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἤρξατο  
200 λέγειν μετὰ ὅρκου· “Τεκνία μου, μὴ λυπεῖσθε· ἔχω γὰρ χρῆμα  
ἀποκεκρυμμένον εἰς τόπον τινὰ πολὺ σφόδρα, ὅτι ἐὰν ζήσετε  
ἐκατὸν ἔτη καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνετε ἐπαρκέσει ὑμῖν τοῦτο εἰς πᾶσαν  
διατροφὴν καὶ σκεπάσματα. Τὰ γὰρ κτήνη ἃ γινώσκετε ὅτι  
ἐξεποροῦμεν, ταῦτα λάθρα ἐπώλουν προγινώσκων ταύτην τὴν  
205 πενίαν καὶ τοὺς λιμοὺς τοὺς ἐσομένους, ἀκούων ἐκ τῶν γονέων  
μου ὅτι ὁ δερμάτινος βίος οὐδὲν ἐστι· εἴτε γὰρ διὰ χειμῶνος εἴτε  
δι’ ἀσθενείας εἴτε ἀπὸ αἰχμαλωσίας ταχέως ἀφανίζεται. Τοῦτο  
ἐγὼ ἀκούσας κέκρικα μᾶλλον ταῦτα κατὰ μέρος πιπράσκειν καὶ  
τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν κατακρύψαι εἰς σκευὸς ἄσηπτον. Καὶ προσιόντος  
210 μου πολλάκις καὶ δοκιμάσας μετρήσαι αὐτὸ οὐκ ἴσχυσα.”

- Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, μάλιστα μετὰ  
ὅρκου λέγοντος, παρεμυθίσθησαν. Προέβλεπεν γὰρ ὁ γέρων τῷ  
πνεύματι τὸν ἀδαπάνητον πλοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἐκατον-  
ταπλασίονα τοῦ νῦν αἰῶνος πιστεύων, οὕτως ἐλογίζετο ὅτι πάντα  
215 ἃ ἐσκόρπισε καὶ ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ βα-  
στάζει, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν. Τούτου χάριν καὶ  
ἀδιακρίτως ὤμνουν.

- Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἐλθούσης βασιλικῆς ἐπικουρίας πρὸς τὸ  
ἐκεῖσε στρατοπέδον ἵνα στρατεύσωνται κατὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν,  
220 (127) ἀδνουμιαζόντων τὸν χιλιάρχην καὶ ἐκατοντάρχη καὶ  
πεντηκοντάρχη ἐπιμελῶς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπ-  
αιτοῦντες αὐτῶν τὰ τε δικάβαλλα καὶ τὰ ἄρματα αὐτῶν  
ἀνελλιπῶς, εἷς τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀνόματι Μουσήλιος πτωχὸς

199 εἰδὼς G: ἰδὼν βV || 202 μὴ ἀποθάνετε G: μὴδὲν κάμνετε (-ητε B) BYV, sim. X  
|| 211 μάλιστα βV: μᾶλλον τὰ G || 218 ἐλθούσης...ἐπικουρίας: ἦλθεν ἐκ βασιλείων  
(τοῦ βασιλέως X) κέλευσις βV || 220 ἀδνουμιαζόντων scripsi: ἀγνωμιαζόντων (su-  
prascr. ἀδνου-) G τοῦ ἀδνουμίου οὖν γενομένου (προσδοκωμένου V) BV loc. om. XY ||  
220-221 τὸν...πεντηκοντάρχη G: τῶν...πεντηκοντάρχων corr. Dölger al. BV loc. om. XY  
|| 222 τε δικάβαλλα βV: πεδικάβαλα G || 223 Μουσήλιος B: Μουσεῖλιος Y Μου-  
σούλιος XV Βασίλειος G ||

<sup>45</sup> βV avoid the tautology in G's version by writing "if you live one hundred years without working".

<sup>46</sup> δερμάτινος βίος apparently means 'property dressed in skin', although the literal mean-  
ing would rather be 'property consisting of skin'.

His children began to wail together with their mother, saying to each other, "It was to our misfortune that we made this man's acquaintance, for even if we had become poor, we could have consoled ourselves with our yoke of oxen and been spared from dying of hunger." But when the holy old man saw the moaning of his children and his wife, he started to assure them under oath, "My children, do not grieve, for I have money hidden in a certain place in such abundance that if you do not die but live one hundred years<sup>45</sup>, it will suffice completely to feed and clothe you. For the cattle that you know we had in plenty, this I have sold in secret, since I foresaw this poverty and the spells of hunger to come, for I had learned from my parents that livestock<sup>46</sup> is nothing worth: it disappears quickly, either because of the spells of winter weather or because of illness or because of robbery. When I heard this I decided that it would be better to sell it piecemeal and hide the payment in an uncorruptible chest. I often went there to make an estimate but could never count it."

When they heard this from their father, especially as he spoke under oath, they cheered up. For in his spirit the old man foresaw God's inexhaustible riches, and believing in the hundredfold reward in this age he calculated that everything that he had distributed and given to the poor he carries in his bosom together with the eternal life.<sup>47</sup> It was for this reason he had sworn without hesitating.

### *b. The horse*

After a time there came imperial reinforcement<sup>48</sup> to the local troops for the purpose of a campaign against the Ishmaelites. As the commander of a thousand and the commander of a hundred and the commander of fifty<sup>49</sup> mustered carefully the multitude of soldiers, scrupulously requiring their

<sup>47</sup> A reference to Philaretos as a new Abraham, cf. Niketas' vision, *infra*, lines 868–71.

<sup>48</sup> βασιλική ἐπικουρία or βοήθεια, 'imperial help', refers to professional forces (τάγματα) with their officers. For comments on the following episode from the point of view of military administration, see F. Dölger in *BZ* 26 (1926), 112; Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, 59f.; Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription*, 63, note 112, and 67 (where, however, Mousoullos, v.l. for Mouselios, is mistakenly said to have met Philaretos on his way to the muster); *idem*, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 243; Dagron, *Traité sur la guérilla*, 183 and 185, with notes; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, 197f.; Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army*, 98f. For the following, cf. also Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*, ed. Wassiliewsky-Jernstedt 21,1 ff. Τοὺς στρατιώτας σου ἀνάγκαζε πρὸ πάντων ἔχειν ἵππους καλοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄρματα αὐτῶν ἀνελλιπῇ καὶ ἐστιλβωμένα, σελογάλινα δὲ καὶ πέδιλα ἐπιτήδεια κτλ.

<sup>49</sup> Since this series of commanders also appears in Exodus 18:21, one should probably not attach so much importance to the mention of pentecontarchs as Treadgold, *loc. cit.*, does.

- πάνυ ὑπάρχων καὶ μὴ ἐκπορῶν ἄλλο τι εἰ μὴ ἓνα ἵππον καὶ τὸ  
 225 ἄρμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔτι τοῦ ἄδνουμίου ἐπισπουδοῦ γενομένου,  
 στροφωθεὶς ὁ ἵππος αὐτοῦ καὶ συντρομάξας ἄφνω κατέπεσεν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπέθανεν. Εἰς ἀπορίαν δὲ ἐλθὼν ὁ στρατιώτης καὶ  
 μὴ ἔχων πόθεν ἕτερον ἀγοράσει καὶ μᾶλλον μὴ παρεῶντος αὐτὸν  
 230 τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀργὴν ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ κίνδυνον οὐ  
 μικρόν, ἀπορῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δρομαίως ἐφίσταται ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν  
 Φιλάρετον διηγούμενος αὐτῷ τὸ συμβεβηκός, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν  
 ἵνα τέως πρὸς ὥραν δώσῃ αὐτὸν τὸν ἵππον καὶ διαβῇ τὸ ἄδνουμιν  
 καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον διαδράσῃ. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἅγιος γέρων·  
 235 “Εἴτα μετὰ τὸ διαβῆναι σε τὸ ἄδνουμιν καὶ ἀποστρέψαι ἡμῖν τὸν  
 ἵππον, τί βούλεσαι διαπράξασθαι;” Ὁ δὲ ἔφησεν· “Τέως τὴν  
 ἡμέραν ἃς διαβῶ ἵνα μὴ ὁ χιλιάρχος μαστιγώσῃ με, καὶ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ἀποδιδράσκω καὶ ὅπως ἰσχύσω ἀπελθεῖν τοῖς ποσίν μου  
 πελάζομαι εἰς τὰ ξένα, ἐπεὶ τί πρᾶξι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.” Ἀκούσας  
 240 πάνυ ὠραῖον καὶ καλὸν τῷ τε εἶδει καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, δέδωκεν αὐτὸν  
 τῷ στρατιώτῃ εἰπὼν αὐτῷ· “Δέξαι, ἀδελφέ, καὶ χαρισθῇ σοι καὶ  
 κύριος ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀκίνδυνόν  
 σε διαφυλάξει.” Λαβὼν δὲ ὁ στρατιώτης τὸν ἵππον ἀπῆει μετὰ  
 245 χαρᾶς πρὸς τὸ ἄδνουμιν, δοξάζων τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπευχόμενος τὸν  
 γέροντα. Ἡ δὲ θεοσεβῆς ἀληθῶς σύμβιος τοῦ ἐλεήμονος ἀνδρὸς  
 σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς πιστεύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα ὅτι χρῆμα πολὺ  
 ἔχει ἀποκείμενον οὐκέτι ἡγανάκτει ἀλλ’ ἐκαθέζετο σιωπῶσα.

- Εἴτα κατελείφθη ἡ δάμαλις μόνη μετὰ τοῦ μόσχου αὐτῆς καὶ  
 ὁ ὄνος καὶ τὰ μελίσσια αὐτοῦ βουτία σν’. Ἦλθεν (129) δὲ ἕτερος  
 250 πτωχὸς παρακαλῶν τὸν Φιλάρετον καὶ λέγων· “Δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 δός μοι κἂν ἓνα μοσχάριν, ἵνα κτήσωμαι κἀγὼ ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς  
 εὐλογίας σου, ὅτι ἡ δόσις σου ἱλαρὰ ἐστι, καὶ ὅπου ἂν εἰσῇλθεν  
 εἰς οἶκόν τινος τοῦτον ἐπλούτισεν πληθυνομένη ἡ εὐλογία σου.”  
 Λαβὼν δὲ τὸ μοσχάριον ὁ Φιλάρετος ἔδωκεν τῷ πτωχῷ μετὰ

224 ἐκπορῶν GBY: εὐπορῶν V κεκτημένος X || 225 ἄδνουμίου BXV: ἀγνομίου (supra-  
 rascr. ἄδνου-) G εὐνομίου Y || 228 αὐτὸν scripsi: αὐτοῦ G om. βV || 232 αὐτὸν GBY:  
 αὐτῷ XV || 232 ἄδνουμιν corr. F-L: ἀγνώμην G loc. om. βV || 234 ἄδνουμιν corr. F-L:  
 ἀγνώμην G ἄδνουμιν BXV εὐγνώμιν Y || 234 ἀποστρέψαι β: ἀποστρέψεις G  
 στρέψαι V || 235 βούλεσαι G: βούλει BXV μέλλει Y || 236 ἃς διαβῶ scripsi: ἃς  
 διάβω G: διαβῶ XY διαβάσω B διέλθω V || 240 αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ G || 241 χαρισθῇ β:  
 χαριστή G al. V || 243 διαφυλάξει B: διαφυλάξῃ GX al. Y || 244 ἄδνουμιν corr.  
 F-L: ἀγνώμιν G πρὸς τὸ ἄδν. om. βV || 249 ὁ addidi || 252 εἰσῇλθεν βV: εἰσέλθῃ G  
 || 253 ἐπλούτισεν BXV: ἐπλούτησεν G περιεπλούτησεν Y ||

pairs of horses and their weapons<sup>50</sup>, there was one soldier, Mouselios<sup>51</sup> by name, who was very poor, possessing only one horse and his weapon and nothing else; moreover, as the muster became urgent, his horse got the gripes, trembled and suddenly fell to the ground and died. The soldier got into trouble. As he could not afford another horse and the captain of hundreds refused to let him pass but rather threatened him with punishment and no little suffering, he hastened in despair to the great Philaretos and told him of his plight, asking him to give him his horse just for a moment so that he could get through the muster and escape disaster. The holy old man said to him, "Then after you have got through the muster and returned the horse to me, what do you plan to do?" He answered, "To begin with let me get through this day without being beaten by the captain of thousands, then I shall run away and go to a far country<sup>52</sup> as fast as my legs can carry me, for I do not know what to do." As the venerable man heard this he immediately took out his horse with joy — it was both beautiful to look at and a good worker — and gave it to the soldier, saying, "Brother, take it as a gift and the Lord will be with you in every place and protect you from danger in the war." The soldier took the horse and went to the muster with joy, praising God and blessing the old man.<sup>53</sup> But the truly God-fearing wife of the merciful man, believing with her children that he had plenty of money laid away, was no longer angry but sat silent.

### c. *The calf and the cow*

Then only the heifer with its calf remained and the ass and his beehives, 250 in number.<sup>54</sup> Another poor man came to Philaretos to beg, saying, "Servant of God, give me just one calf that I too may get a new start from your blessed gift, for your gift makes cheerful<sup>55</sup>, and where it entered into a man's house your blessed gift multiplied and made it rich." Philaretos took

<sup>50</sup> ἄρματα is translated by Fourmy and Leroy with 'chars', which cannot be correct, and by Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, with 'harness'. It either means 'weapons' or 'armours', see LBG s.v., and Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription*, 68, note 121. Cf. also *Ecloga*, ed. Burgmann, line 722 τὸ ἱππάριον αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῦ σελλοχαλίνου καὶ τὸ ἄρμα αὐτοῦ. The extra horse was probably needed for equipment and other necessities.

<sup>51</sup> I prefer Μουσῆλιος (v.l. Μουσούλιος) to the Βασίλειος of G as it is lectio difficilior and fits the area. For Mouselios, or Mousoullos, as an Armenian name, see Brousselle, "L'intégration des Arméniens," 46, Winkelman, *Quellenstudien*, 205, and Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 94, note 47; she does not discuss the textual difficulty.

<sup>52</sup> For πελάζομαι εἰς τὰ ξένα cf. *Acta Joannis* ed. Zahn, 38, 10-11 οἶκον καταλιπὼν πελάζομαι...εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν γῆν.

<sup>53</sup> As Ludwig, *Sonderformen* 93, observes, this episode is also reminiscent of *VEustrat*, ch. 13, see ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 377, 3-9.

<sup>54</sup> I understand μελίσσια as an adjective attribute to βουτῖα, a rather general term like δοχεῖον. It indicates that the beehives had the form of a frustum, like the cap in which St Spyridon usually appears. Note that the beehives have not been mentioned before.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 2 Co. 9:7.



- 255 χαρᾶς. Ὁ δὲ δῆσας αὐτὸ ἀγαλλόμενος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁδόν.  
Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τοῦ μοσχαρίου ἦκει παρὰ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς  
βοῶσα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, ὥστε εἰς οἶκτον φέρειν καὶ τὸν γέροντα.  
Ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ τὴν βοήν τῆς δαμάλεως διελύθη  
τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτῆς ὡς πεπειραμένη τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ θηλάζειν.  
260 Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς· “Ναί, τὰ τέκνα σου οὐκ ἠλέησας,  
καὶ τὴν δάμαλιν στενάζουσιν πῶς οὐ σπλαγχνίζῃ; Πῶς δὲ ἀνέσχου  
ταύτην χωρίσαι τοῦ ἰδίου τέκνου; Σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμὲ ἔχεις φείσασθαι  
χωρισθῆναι σου ἢ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων.” Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἠσπάσατο τῇ  
γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν· “Εὐλογημένη σὺ  
265 τῷ κυρίῳ ὅτι δικαίως τοῦτο ἐλάλησας πρὸς με· ἀληθῶς γὰρ  
ἄσπλαγχνος ὑπάρχω καὶ ἀνελεῆμων, χωρίσας τὸν μόσχον τῆς ἰδίας  
μητρός. Τοῦτο καὶ ὁ θεὸς λυπηθήσεται ἐν ἐμοί.” Καὶ καταδιώξας  
τὸν πτωχὸν ἤρξατο κράζειν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· “Ἄνθρωπε, στρέψον  
τὸ μοσχάριν, ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ βοᾷ πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ οἴκου  
270 μου.” Στραφεὶς δὲ ὁ πένης ἅμα τοῦ μοσχαρίου λογιζόμενος ὅτι  
πάντως μετεμελήθη ὁ γέρον ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὠρεᾷ. Ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ  
μήτηρ τὸ ἴδιον τέκνον ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ περιεπτύξατο αὐτὸ  
καὶ ἤρξατο θηλάζειν αὐτό. Ἐχάρη δὲ ἡ θεοσεβὴς λίαν. Εἶπεν δὲ  
ὁ Φιλάρετος πρὸς τὸν πένητα· “Ἀδελφέ, ὡς λέγει ἡ σύμβιός μου  
275 ὅτι ἁμαρτίαν πεποίηκα χωρίσας τὸν μόσχον ἐκ τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ,  
ἔπαρον καὶ τὴν τούτου μητέρα καὶ πορεύου τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁδόν, καὶ  
κύριος εὐλογήσει σε καὶ πληθύνει αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, ὥς ποτε  
τὴν ἐμὴν ἀγέλην.” Ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν· τοσοῦτους βόας ἐκτήσατο  
ὁ πένης ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς εὐλογίας καὶ ἐπλούτησεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπάνω  
280 τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγέλης τοῦ γέροντος κτήσασθαι αὐτόν. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ  
μεμφομένη ἑαυτὴν ἔλεγεν· “Καλῶς μοι γέγονε ταῦτα· εἰ γὰρ μὴ  
ἐλάλησα, οὐκ ἂν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ μόσχου ὑστέρησα τὰ τέκνα  
μου.”

- Εἶτα κατελείφθη ὁ ὄνος μονώτατος μετὰ τῶν μελισσίων. (131)  
285 Λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ μὴ ἔχων ὁ ἄνθρωπος πῶς τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ  
διαθρέψαι, ἐπάρας τὸ ὑποζύγιον αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν  
μακρὰν καὶ ἐδανείσατο σίτου μόδια ἕξ καὶ ἐπιθήσας ἐπὶ τὸ  
ὑποζύγιον ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἅμα ἀποφορτώσας  
αὐτὸ παρέστη πτωχὸς αἰτούμενος σίτου μίαν δραγμὴν. Εἶπεν δὲ  
290 ὁ ἐλεῆμων ἀνὴρ πρὸς τὴν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ σινιάζουσιν τὸν σῖτον

263–64 τῇ...αὐτοῦ G: αὐτὴν BYV loc. om. X || 265 ab ἀληθῶς usque ad Δὸς αὐτῷ (316) lacunam exhibit B || 267 τοῦτο...ἐμοί G: καὶ ὁ θεὸς λυπηθήσεται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Y εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐλυπήθη ἐπ' ἐμοί V om. X || 270 λογιζόμενος: ἐλογίζετο XYV || 272 περιεπτύξατο G: περιεπλάκη Y περιέλειξε V loc. om. X || 273 θεοσεβὴς GV: θεοσεβῶ X θεοσεβοῦ Y || 279 ἐξ ἐκείνης YV: ἐκεῖνος Gal. X || 284 μελισσίων GY: μελισσῶν XV || 285 δὲ XV: τε GY || 286 ἐπορεύθη: sic G || 289 σίτου μίαν

the calf and gave it to the poor man with joy. The man tied it and went his way, rejoicing. But the mother of the calf came to the door of the cattle shed, crying with a loud voice that even aroused the pity of the old man. When his wife heard the heifer crying her heart softened, since she knew what it means to give birth and to suckle. She said to her husband, "Even if you have surely taken no pity on your children, why don't you at least have pity on the heifer when it laments? How did you dare to separate it from its own offspring? Evidently, you will not even hesitate to separate me from you or from my own children." The man embraced his wife, blessed her and said, "Blessed be you by the Lord, because you rightly said this to me! I am truly merciless and pitiless, since I severed the calf from its mother. For this God will also be grieved with me." And he began to run after the poor man and cry with a loud voice, "Man, return the calf, for its mother is crying at the door of my house!" The poor man turned back with the calf, thinking that the old man no doubt repented so great a gift. When the mother saw her offspring, she ran to meet it, greeted it affectionately<sup>56</sup> and began to give it suck. The God-fearing woman rejoiced greatly. Philaretos said to the poor man, "Brother, since my wife says that I committed a sin when I separated the calf from its mother, take its mother too and go your way, and the Lord shall bless you and make it multiply in your house as He once multiplied my herd." Which also came to pass, for so many cattle did the poor man receive from this blessed gift and so rich did he become, that his herd became even greater than the herd of the old man had been. But the woman blamed herself and said, "This served me right! If I had remained silent, I would not also have deprived my children of the mother of the calf."

#### *d. The donkey*

Then only the ass remained and the beehives<sup>57</sup>. There was famine, and as the man did not know how to feed his children, he took his donkey and went into a far country<sup>58</sup> and borrowed six bushels of grain, which he put on the donkey and carried home. At the same time as he unloaded the animal, a poor man appeared asking for one handful of grain. The merciful man said to his wife, who was sifting the grain together with her maid, "Woman, give

δραγμὴν scripsi: σ. μιᾶς δραγμῆς G μία δράκα σ. X μία δραγμὴ σ. Υ μίαν δράκα σ. V || 290 σινιάζουσιν V: σινιάζουσα G loc. om. XY ||

<sup>56</sup> Lit. 'embraced'. One would perhaps expect something like "nuzzled it".

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 54.

<sup>58</sup> For εἰς χώραν μακράν cf. Luke 15:13 par. The phrase "he took his donkey" indicates that "far country" should not be taken literally, although it must have been farther away than his estates.

σὺν τῇ παιδίσκῃ αὐτῆς· “Γύναι, δὸς τῷ πένητι ἐκ τοῦ σίτου  
 μόδιον ἓν.” Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Δὸς ἐμοὶ τὸ μόδιον, καὶ τὰ  
 παιδία σου πρὸς ἓνα, καὶ τὴν νύμφην μου ἓνα, ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν  
 παιδίσκην μου, καὶ εἴ τι περισσεύει, δὸς αὐτὸ ὅπου θέλεις.” Ὁ  
 295 δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν· “Καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν μοῖραν οὐ ποιεῖς;” Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν·  
 “Σὺ ἄγγελος εἶ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος καὶ βρώσεως οὐκ ἐπιδέεσαι, εἰ  
 γὰρ ἐχρῆζες αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν τὸν σῖτον τὸν ἀπὸ δανείου ἤνεγκας  
 τοσαῦτα μίλια καὶ ἐδίδους ἀλλαχοῦ.” Καὶ ἀπλῶς μαινομένη ἐπ’  
 αὐτῷ εἶπεν· “Ἐνεκεν Θεοσεβοῦς, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ δύο μόδια.” Εἶπεν  
 300 δὲ ὁ γέρον· “Εὐλογημένη σὺ τῷ κυρίῳ.” Καὶ μετρήσας μόδια δύο  
 δέδωκεν τὸν πτωχόν· Ἡ δὲ ὡς ἐποξίζουσα αὐτῷ εἶπεν· “Εγὼ ἐάν  
 ἤμην, δώσειν αὐτῷ εἶχα τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ γομαρίου.” Μετρήσας δὲ καὶ  
 τὸ ἄλλο μόδιον δέδωκεν αὐτῷ. Καὶ μὴ ἔχων ὁ πτωχὸς ἀγγεῖον  
 305 βάλλειν τὸν σῖτον, βουλόμενος ἀποδύσασθαι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 μὴ ἔχων τὸ πῶς ὅτι μονόχιτος ὑπῆρχεν, περισπᾶτο μὴ ἔχων τὸ  
 τί διαπράξασθαι. Ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ θεοσεβὴς τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῦ πένητος  
 καὶ τὴν σπεῦσιν τοῦ γέροντος πρὸς τὸ προπέμψαι αὐτόν εἶπεν  
 πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα εἰρωνικῶς· “Εγὼ ἐάν ἤμην, δώσειν αὐτῷ εἶχα καὶ  
 τὸ σακίον.” Ὁ δὲ ἐποίησεν οὕτως. Ῥίψασα δὲ τὸ κόσκινον εἰς τὸ  
 310 ἔδαφος, ἀνέστη καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· “Ἐνεκεν Θεοσεβοῦς,  
 δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σακίον γέμοντα.” Καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως.  
 Ἀπάρας δὲ ὁ πένης καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος βαστάσαι τὰ ἔξ μόδια ἐβόα  
 πρὸς τὸν νέον Ἰώβ· “Κύριέ μου, ἃς ἔστιν ὧδε ὁ σῖτος καὶ δύο δύο  
 315 μόδια κουβαλῶ ἀποκομίζων εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἰσχύω  
 ὅλον βαστάσαι.” Ἡ δὲ θεοσεβὴς ἀκούσασα παραπεπονημένη  
 ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· “Δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ὄνον, μὴ ψασθῇ ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος.” Ὁ δὲ ἐπευλόγησεν αὐτήν καὶ στρώσας τὸ ὑποζύγιον  
 καὶ φορτώσας δέδωκε τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ (133) ἀπέλυσε μετὰ χαρᾶς.  
 Καὶ ἤρξατο λέγειν τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ δημοτικὸν λόγον· “Πτωχὸς

293 ἓνα G: ἓν Val. XY || 295 τὴν ἐμὴν GV: ἐμοὶ Y loc. om. X || 295 μοῖραν GY: με-  
 ρίδα V loc. om. X || 297 αὐτοῦ G: ἄρτου YV loc. om. X || 301 ἐποξίζουσα G: ἐμπαι-  
 ζουσα XV ἐμποδίζουσα Y || 304 βάλλειν scripsi: βάλλει G βαλεῖν β βάλαι V ||  
 305 μονόχιτος GY: μονοχίτων V loc. om. X || 306 θεοσεβὴς GX: θεοσεβοῦς Y γυνή  
 V || 312 ἀπάρας G: ἀπορῶν YV loc. om. X || 312 καὶ GV: om. Y loc. om. X ||  
 315 θεοσεβὴς G: Θεοσεβῶ βV || 316 δὸς αὐτῷ: resumit B ||

59 According to line 483 *infra*, her name was Eirene. This is the first time the author indicates that Philaretos' children, or at least his son, were married and therefore adult.

60 To speak about oneself in the third person, using one's name, as here and *infra*, line 310f., is not unusual in hagiography, cf., e.g., *MirArtem*, mir. 18: the cantor Theodosios, accused of having stolen clothes from a fellow cantor, says, Τί λέγεις, κύρι; Θεοδόσιος ἐπῆρεν αὐτά; ἐγὼ ἐκλεψα τίποτε.

one bushel of the grain to the poor man." She said to him, "Give this bushel to me, and one each to your children, and one to my daughter-in-law<sup>59</sup>, and the same to my maid, and if there is anything left, give it to whom it pleases you." He asked, "And what about my share?" She answered, "You are an angel and not a human being and do not need food, for if you had needed it, you would not have carried the grain you borrowed so many miles only to give it to others." And getting simply furious with him she said, "As far as Theosebo is concerned<sup>60</sup>, give him two bushels." The old man said, "Blessed be you by the Lord!" And he measured out two bushels and gave them to the poor man. But she became cross with him, as it were, and said, "If it had been me, I would have given him half of the load." He measured out the third bushel and gave him. As the poor man had no vessel in which to put the grain, he wanted to take off his garment but did not know how, since he had only one tunic, and became worried, being at a loss what to do. When the God-fearing woman noticed the poor man's perplexity and the venerable man's hurry to see him off, she said ironically to her husband, "If it had been me, I would have given him the sack as well." And he did so. But she threw the sieve on the ground, got up and said to her husband, "As far as Theosebo is concerned, give him also the other full sack." And he did so. As the poor man was leaving but was unable to carry all the six bushels he cried to the new Job<sup>61</sup>, "My Lord, let the grain stay here while I carry two bushels at a time to my home, for I cannot carry it all at once."<sup>62</sup> When the God-fearing woman heard this, she sighed<sup>63</sup> and said to her husband, "Give him also the donkey, lest the man makes his back ache." He blessed her, saddled and loaded the donkey, gave it to the poor man and sent him away gladly.<sup>64</sup> And he began to cite the popular country saying, "A poor man

<sup>61</sup> Strictly speaking, Philaretos is a new Job only because he does not lose his good heart when he becomes poor. Unlike the biblical Job he does not become sick or lose his children or protest against the way he is being treated by God. In the Middle Ages Job had become a model of patient suffering and little else.

<sup>62</sup> One bushel of wheat weighed between 12 and 13 kg, see Oikonomides, "Title and Income", 203.

<sup>63</sup> I.e., she gave up.

<sup>64</sup> For this episode and its denouement, cf. *ActDavSymGeorg*: § 13: Returning from the mill George gave away his flour to two beggars, who received three bushels each. As they were unable to carry it themselves, he gave them his donkey as well. When he came home, the hegoumenos and the brethren rebuked him, but George prayed to God, and soon an unknown man appeared with two beasts of burden, one laden with bread, the other with wine, beans and cheese. Moreover, after four days there arrived a messenger from Smyrna with promises of 500 bushels of grain, 100 bushels of beans and 100 gold coins.

320 μέριμναν μὴ ἔχέτω· αὐτὸς γυμνὸς ἐξῆλθον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου, γυμνὸς καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐκεῖ.”

Εἶτα καθεζομένη ἡ μήτηρ μετὰ τῶν παιδίων αὐτῆς νῆστις μὴ ἔχουσα ἄλευρον πόθεν ὀπτῇσιν ἄρτους καὶ ἐμπλήσει τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, μὴ φέρουσα θεωρεῖν ταῦτα λιμώττοντα ἀνέστη καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν γειτονίαν ζητοῦσα ἄρτους ἐν δάνει. Καὶ εὐροῦσα ἓνα ἄρτον, συλλέξασα ἄγρια λάχανα ἤνεγκε τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς καὶ ἔφαγον τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν, τὸν δὲ γέροντα οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν. Ἐπορεύθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ ἀγανακτήσας εἰς τὸ τοῦ γείτονος καταγώγιον καὶ ἔφαγεν καὶ ἐκοιμήθη μετ’ εὐχαριστίας.

330 Ἀκούσας δὲ τις τῶν ἀρχόντων, φίλος αὐτοῦ διοικητῆς τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑπάρχων, ὅτι ἐπτώχευσεν ὁ Φιλάρετος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἐφόρτωσε τέσσαρας ἡμιόνους τεσσαράκοντα μόδια σίτου καὶ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Φιλάρετον γράψας αὐτῷ· “Ἔστω σοι ταῦτα εἰς διατροφήν σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις σου καὶ ὅτε πληρώσεις αὐτά, πάλιν ἀποστέλλω σοι ἄλλα τοσαῦτα.” Δεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ τὸν σιτοφόρον ἐδόξαζε τὸν θεὸν τὸν μὴ παρορῶντα τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπ’ αὐτόν. Εἶπεν δὲ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· “Δὸς ἐμοὶ τὸ μέρος μου μὲ τὰ παιδία μου καὶ ἐσὺ ἄρτον τὸ μέρος σου καὶ εἰ τι θέλεις ποιήσον αὐτό.”

340 Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “Ὡς θέλεις ποιῶ.” Καὶ ἔλαχεν αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ πέντε μοδίων. Ἄρας δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν μοῖραν καὶ θεὶς αὐτὴν παρὰ μίαν, ὅτε ἤρχετο πτωχός, ἐδίδου ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶσω δύο ἡμερῶν δέδωκεν ὅλον τοῖς πτωχοῖς. Ὅτε δὲ ἤρχετο ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἀρίστου καὶ ἤρξατο ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἐσθίειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ γέρον ὑπομειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ λέγων· “Δέχεσθε, παιδία, φίλον.” Οἱ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες τὸ τί ποιῆσαι προσελαμβάνοντο αὐτόν καὶ ἤσθιεν μετ’ αὐτῶν. Ἐλεγον δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐως πότε οὐκ ἐκβάλλεις τὸ κεκρυμμένον χρῆμα καὶ ἀγοράζεις καὶ σὺ καὶ τρώγεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν σῖτον ὃν δέδωκας ἡμῖν πάλιν στρέφη καὶ

325 δάνει BX: δάνου G δάνω V al. Y || 328 τὸ BYV: om. G. loc. om. X || 336 τὸν σιτοφόρον G: τῶν σιτοφόρων BYV loc. om. X || 338 μὲ τὰ παιδία scripsi: με τὰ π. G μετὰ τῶν παιδίων (vel τέκνων) βV || 342 αὐτοῦ G: αὐτῆς βV || 343 ὅλον G: αὐτὴν XV om. BY ||

<sup>65</sup> αὐτὸς γυμνός...ἐκεῖ: Job 1:21. It is surprising that a saying that mainly derives from the Scriptures should be characterized as ἐπιχώριος καὶ δημοτικός, cf. *ActDavSymGeorg*, 229,18f. εἶπε γραφικὸν μὲν οὐδέν, φωνὴν δ’ ἐγχώριον καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀδομένην. The meaning seems to be that the combination of the phrase “a poor man should not worry” with Job 1:21 constituted a common saying.

<sup>66</sup> The version of βV is slightly different: When one of his old friends, a tax collector by position... On διοικητής, see *ODP* s.v.

should not worry; I myself came forth naked from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither."<sup>65</sup>

Then the mother sat hungry with her children, having no flour with which to bake bread to feed them, but since she could not stand seeing them starving, she got up and went to the neighbours, looking for bread to borrow. And having found one loaf she collected wild vegetables and brought it to her children. In the evening they ate and went to bed, but they did not invite the old man. He did not become angry but also went to their neighbour's house and ate and went to bed with gratitude.

### *e. The forty bushels of grain*

When one of the government officials, a friend of his holding the position of tax collector<sup>66</sup>, heard that Philaretos had sunk into poverty, he was ashamed on behalf of his old friend and loaded four mules with forty bushels of grain and sent them to Philaretos, telling him in writing, "May these serve as nourishment for you and your children, and when you have finished them<sup>67</sup>, I shall send you another forty."<sup>68</sup> Receiving the bushels from the muleteer<sup>69</sup> he praised God who does not neglect those who trust in Him. His wife said to him, "Give me my share together with my children<sup>70</sup> and as for you take your share and do with it as you like." He answered, "I shall do as you wish." And they received five bushels each<sup>71</sup>. He took his share and put it aside, and when there came a beggar he gave from it, and within two days he had given it all to the poor<sup>72</sup>. When it was time for dinner and his wife began to eat together with her children, the old man also appeared with a smile on his face and said, "Children, receive a guest!" Not knowing what to do they let him in, and he ate with them. They said to him, "How long will you wait until you take out your hidden money and buy and eat

<sup>65</sup> For πληρώω in the sense 'finish, end', cf. Malalas, ed. Thurm 118, 37f. ὁ Θεὸς...ἐπλήρωσε τὴν βασιλείαν σου "brought to an end". Dölger, *BZ* 35 (1935) 196, suggests "wenn du sie gesättigt hast", which, however, does not fit the context.

<sup>66</sup> This man is a telling counterpart to the friends with whom Job discussed the topic of suffering.

<sup>69</sup> Usually, a σιτοφόρος refers to a beast of burden carrying corn, which suits the reading τῶν σιτοφόρων appearing in β.

<sup>70</sup> I read μετὰ τὰ παιδιά rather than μετὰ <τὰ> παιδιά, since μετὰ is usually followed by the genitive.

<sup>71</sup> This implies that Philaretos' family consisted of eight persons: Philaretos himself, his wife, his son and two daughters, his daughter-in-law and two sons-in-law. If this is the meaning of the passage, it follows that both his sons-in-law are still alive, although at the time of the bride-show one of them is said to be dead. Note, however, that in connection with the six bushels that Philaretos borrowed and brought home himself the sons-in-law were not mentioned, whereas the maid received one bushel.

<sup>72</sup> Instead of αὐτοῦ and ἄλλον one would expect feminine forms referring to μοῖραν, as in β in the first instance (αὐτῆς) and in XV in the second (αὐτὴν), but the author is evidently thinking of μέρος or σῆτος rather than of μοῖρα.

350 κατεσθίεις αὐτόν; Ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν· “Πάντως εἰς κονδὸν ἐκβαλῶ αὐτό.”

Εἵτα κατελείφθησαν αὐτῷ αἱ μέλισσαι μόναι, τὰ (135) σν' βουτία, θάλλουσαι πάνυ καὶ ἐργαζόμεναι τὸν ἑαυτῶν καρπὸν. Ὅτε δὲ ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πτωχός, μὴ ἔχων τι δοῦναι αὐτῷ  
 355 ἐλάμβανε τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπῆρχετο εἰς τὸν μελισσίονα καὶ ἤνοιγεν τὸ βουτίον καὶ ἐτρύγα ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἕως οὗ ἐνέπλησεν τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ πένητος, ἐσθίων καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν ἐξήλειψε καὶ αὐτά, κατελείφθη δὲ μόνον ἓν. Ἰδόντα δὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὅτι καὶ τὴν  
 360 τοῦ μέλιτος τροφὴν ὑστέρησεν αὐτούς, ἀπελθόντα λάθρα τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ ἐτρύγησαν τὸ βουτίον τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ ἔφαγον αὐτό. Καὶ χρίσαντες τὸ βουτίον σάβουρον ἔασαν αὐτὸ ἐκεῖ, ἵνα μὴ γνῶσῃ ὁ γέρων τὸ γεγονός. Ἦλθε δὲ ἄλλην πτωχὸς καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ γέρων ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν μελισσίονα, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ σκεῦος εὗρεν  
 365 αὐτὸ σάβουρον. Μηδὲν δὲ μελήσας περὶ τούτου ἀποδυσάμενος τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ δέδωκε τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ στραφεὶς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, θεωρήσασα ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ ὑποκαμίσου ὄντα αὐτὸν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κυρίέ μου, ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ χιτὼν σου; μὴ καὶ τοῦτον πτωχοῖς δέδωκας;” Ὁ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ  
 370 θάμβου εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· “Δράμε, τέκνον, εἰς τὸν μελισσίονα, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐλησμόνησα τὸ ἱμάτιόν μου.” Ἀπελθὼν δὲ καὶ μὴ εὐρών αὐτὸ ὑπέστρεψε καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ. Ἡ δὲ ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα ὅτι ἐκ παντὸς ἐκλάπη, καὶ μὴ φέρουσα θεωρεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα γυμνὸν ἐκβαλοῦσα τὸ ἴδιον στιχάριον  
 375 συνέκοψεν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέδωκε τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον, βασιλεύοντος τῆς φιλοχρίστου Εἰρήνης αὐγούστης σὺν ἀνακτι τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἐξήτει ἡ βασίλισσα κόρην ἐπιλέξασθαι ἐν πάσῃ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώρᾳ  
 380 ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμᾶς πρὸς τὸ ζευξαί τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν βασιλέα. Γυρεύσαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν δύσιν μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ τὴν

355 μελισσίονα G: μελισσῶνα β μελισσῶνα V μελισσιῶνα Dölger || 364 μελισσίονα G: μελισσῶνα β μελισσῶνα V μελισσιῶνα Dölger || 367-68 ἀπὸ...ὄντα G: μονένδυτον βV || 371 μελισσίονα G: μελισσῶνα βV μελισσιῶνα Dölger || 376 βασιλεύοντος G: βασιλευούσης βV ||

<sup>73</sup> For ἐν καιρῷ καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν cf. 2 Tim. 4:2 εὐκαιρῶς ἀκαιρῶς.

<sup>74</sup> Presumably with wax.

<sup>75</sup> For ἀπὸ ὑποκαμίσου ὄντα cf. *De cer.*, ed. Vogt I, 172, 14 παρίστανται ἀπὸ σκαρμαγγίου 'se présentent avec le scaramange'.

you too instead of coming back and eating the grain you have given to us?" He answered, "Surely I shall take it out shortly."

*f. The honey and the mantle*

Then only the bees were left to him, the 250 beehives, quite thriving and working at their produce. When a beggar came to him, as he had nothing to give him, he took the poor man and went to the apiary, opened the beehive and gathered from it until he had filled the stomach of the poor man, eating also himself with him. Doing this time and time again<sup>73</sup> he finished these too; only one remained. When his children discovered that he had also deprived them of the nourishment of the honey, in the evening they went in secret to the beehive and gathered its honey and consumed it. And they left the beehive there empty, smearing it<sup>74</sup>, lest the old man notice what they had done. Again there came a beggar and the old man took him and went to the apiary, but when he opened the vessel he found it empty. He did not care about this, however, but took off his mantle and gave it the poor man and sent him away. When he returned home, his wife, noticing that he had nothing on but his under-shirt<sup>75</sup>, said to him, "My lord, where is your mantle? Have you given this to the poor too?" As if amazed he said to his son, "My son, run to the apiary, for I forgot my mantle there!" He ran off, but when he could not find it, he returned and told his mother. She became greatly distressed, thinking that it had surely been stolen, and as she could not stand seeing her husband naked<sup>76</sup>, she took out her own tunic<sup>77</sup>, cut out a man's mantle and gave it to her husband.

#### 4. The bride show

*a. The arrival of the envoys*

At this time, when the Christ-loving *augusta* Irene reigned<sup>78</sup> with her son the emperor Constantine, the empress was searching the whole land of the Romans from east to west for a girl to be chosen as consort for her son, the emperor. Having in vain searched the whole west, south and north her men

<sup>76</sup> I.e., in his underwear.

<sup>77</sup> *Sticharion* was a long tunic with sleeves, usually referring to the embroidered robe of the higher clergy or government officials but here used of a rich woman's dress; cf. Kazhdan, "Women at home", 14.

<sup>78</sup> The masculine form of the participle is remarkable, especially as Irene is characterized as *augusta*. It is true that Irene appears as Εἰρήνη πιστός βασιλεὺς in her novels (Ohnsorge, "Kaisertum", 286), but in this case we probably have to do with the usual careless grammar rather than with protocol, cf. M. Hinterberger in *JÖB* 49 (1999) 406; note that βV use the correct form. Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 108 suspects that the date formula was added to an already existing bride-show story.



ἀρχτῶαν καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες ἤλθον εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου. Γυρεούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἤλθον κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον Παφλαγονίας εἰς τὸ χωρίον τοῦ ἐλεήμονος ἀνδρός. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ χωρίου Ἄμνια, 385 ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως Γαγγρῶν τελοῦσα. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βασιλικοὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ γέροντος ἀρχαῖον ὄντα καὶ μέγαν σφόδρα καὶ πάνυ τερπνόν, νομίζοντες ὅτι εἷς τῶν μεγιστάνων καταμένει ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐκέλευσαν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς μητάτορας (137) ἐκεῖσε καταλῦσαι. Οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τοῦ χωρίου λέγουσι πρὸς τοὺς 390 βασιλικούς· “Μή, κύριοι, μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἔξωθεν μέγας φαίνεται καὶ ἔντιμος, ἔσωθεν δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει ἐν αὐτῷ.” Οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ νομίζοντες ὅτι ὑπὸ ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ κυρίου τῆς οἰκίας τοῦτο λαλοῦσιν, ἵνα μὴ καταλύσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πλούσιον καὶ δυνάστην, εἶπον μετ’ ὀργῆς 395 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν· “Πορεύεσθε μόνον, ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν οἶκον.”

Ὁ δὲ φιλόξενος ἀνὴρ ἀληθῶς καὶ φιλόθεος λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ὑπήντησε τοὺς βασιλικούς ἔξωθεν τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, μετὰ χαρᾶς πολλῆς προσπτυσσόμενος αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγων· 400 “Καλῶς ὁ θεὸς ἤνεγκε τοὺς ἐμοὺς δεσπότας εἰς τὰ δουλικά αὐτῶν· τί ἐμοὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι κατηξιώσατε εἰς πτωχοῦ καλύβην εἰσελθεῖν;” Ἦρξατο δὲ πρὸς τὴν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ περισπᾶσθαι καὶ διατάσσεσθαι λέγων· “Ποίησον ἡμῖν, γυναί, δεῖπνον καλόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐντραπῶμεν εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνδρας.” Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· “Καθὼς 405 ἐδιοίκησας τὸν οἶκόν σου ὅτι οὐδὲ μίαν ὄρνιν κατέλιπες με· μαγεῖρευσες ἄρτι ἄγρια λάχανα, καὶ ὑπόδεξαι τοὺς βασιλικούς.” Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ πρὸς αὐτήν· “Εὐτρέπισον μόνον τὸ πῦρ καὶ κόσμησον τὸν μέγαν τρίκλινον καὶ σπόγγισον τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τὴν ἐλεφάντινον, καὶ ὁ θεὸς πέμψαι ἔχει τὸ τί ἔχουσιν 410 φαγεῖν.” Ἐποίησεν δὲ οὕτως.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ χωρίου παρεγένοντο ἐκ τῆς πλαγίας πρὸς τὸν ἐλεήμονα γέροντα κομίζοντες αὐτῷ κριοὺς καὶ ἄρνους καὶ ὄρνεις καὶ περιστερὰς καὶ οἶνον διαλεκτὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν 415 πᾶσαν χρεῖαν. Καὶ ἐποίησε πάντα ἡ τούτου σύμβιος ἐδέσματα σπαστρικά πάνυ, ὥς ἦν ποιοῦσά ποτε ὅτε ὑπῆρχον πλούσιοι. Τῆς

383 μεσόγειον scripsi: -γιον G -γαιον βV || 394 εἶναι BXV: ἔστιν G al. Y || 399 προσπτυσσόμενος G: περιπτυσσόμενος βV || 409 ἐλεφάντινον GY: ἐλεφαντίνην BV (quod malim, cf. infra) loc. om. X || 413 διαλεκτὸν corr. F-L: διάλεκτον G παλαιὸν BYV loc. om. X || 415 ποιοῦσά scripsi: ζῶσα G sententiam om. βV ||

<sup>79</sup> According to Ludwig, *Sonderformen*, 108 this sentence is a duplicate deriving from an earlier bride-show story that the author used as his model. She also points out that the fruitless search mentioned in this passage seems to be in disagreement with what is said *infra*, lines (487–8), namely that in addition to Philaretos’ granddaughter ten other girls were brought to

came to the region of Pontos<sup>79</sup>. During their search they came to the merciful man's village, situated in inland Paphlagonia. The name of the village is Amnia, and it belongs to the jurisdiction of the city of Gangra<sup>80</sup>. When the imperial envoys<sup>81</sup> noticed the old man's house, which was old and very large and wholly pleasant, they thought that one of the great men lived in it and commanded their servants and billet-officers to make them lodge there.<sup>82</sup> The elders of the village said to the imperial envoys, "No, Sirs, do not go to that house, for even if it looks great and honourable from the outside, it has nothing inside." But the imperial envoys, who thought that they said this by order of the master of the house, lest they take up their quarters there because he was rich and powerful, angrily told their servants, "Just go ahead, let us go to this house."

### *b. Philaretos' hospitality*

The truly hospitable man and lover of God took his stick and met the imperial envoys outside his house, embraced them with great joy and said, "Welcome, my Lordships, whom God led to their servant's house! What made you do a poor man the honour of coming to his hut?" And he began anxiously to give instructions to his wife, saying, "Woman, make us a good meal, lest we be put to shame before such noble men!" But she answered, "The way you have run your house you have not left a single hen to me; now you can prepare wild plants and entertain the emperors' men with them!" But the man said to her, "Just make fire, put the great dining-room in order, wipe the old ivorytable, and God will send food for their meal." And she did so.

And look, the elders of the village came to the compassionate old man through the side door bringing him rams and lambs and hens and pigeons and choice wine and, in short, all that was needed. And from all this his

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Constantinople for the final decision, for one does not have the impression that the empress's men went on searching after they had found Maria. To my mind, however, one should not operate with a specific model until such a model has been found, nor should one expect to find complete consistency in a tale of this kind. See also Vinson, "Life of Theodora", 49.

<sup>80</sup> This is the first mention of Amnia in the Vita, although Philaretos was called Ἀμνιάτης *supra*, line (94). Feissel, "Contributions," 375f. quotes two epitaphs of the sixth century, according to which the inhabitants of Amnia regarded themselves as Galatians, although, according to *VPh*, Amnia belonged to Gangra, the capital of Paphlagonia. He further observes that this ambiguity is in accordance with the first lines of the Vita, in which Philaretos is said to have lived in Paphlagonia at the same time as he is said to have been the most noble of the men in Pontos and the Galatian region.

<sup>81</sup> The βασιλικοί, or βασιλικοί ἄνθρωποι, as they are usually called, may refer to any high-ranking officials, see *ODB* s.v. Basilikoi anthropoi (A. Kazhdan), with further references.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *VPorphGaz*, ed. Grégoire-Kugener, ch. 63, 6f. Ἐμῆτάτευσεν δὲ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν φυγόντων ὁ...Κυνήγιος.

δὲ τραπέζης εὐτρεπισθείσης ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τρικλίνῳ εἰσελθόντες οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν τε τρίκλινον πάνυ ὥραϊον, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐλεφαντίνην ἀρχαίαν περι-  
 420 κεχρυσωμένην στρογγυλοειδῇ παμμεγέθῃ, ὡς καθέζεσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας τριάκοντα ἕξ, θεασάμενοι δὲ καὶ ἐπικείμενα βρώματα ἐν αὐτῇ καθάπερ τινὸς βασιλέως, θεωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἱεροπρεπῆ καὶ πάνυ ὥραϊον — ἣν γὰρ ἀληθῶς οὐ μόνον τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ (139) Ἀβραάμ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ ὁμοιος αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχεν — ἡδύνθησαν αὐτῷ σφόδρα. Καθίσαντες δὲ  
 425 ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης εἰσῆλθε καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ γέροντος τοῦνομα Ἰωάννης πάνυ ὥραϊος· ἦν γὰρ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ τὸν Σαοῦλ, τό τε τρίχωμα τοῦ Ἀβεσαλώμ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ. Εἰσῆλθοσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἑγγονες αὐτοῦ, υἱοὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ, πάντες κάλλει κεκοσμημένοι. Θεασάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούτους  
 430 οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἡγάσθησαν τὰ κάλλη αὐτῶν. Εἶπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἐλεῆμονα γέροντα· “Ἔστι σοι, καλόγερε, σύμβιος;” Ὁ δὲ ἔφη· “Ναί, κύριοί μου, ἔστι μοι, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ παιδάρια τέκνα μού εἰσι καὶ ἐγγόνια.” Εἶπον δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐλθέτω δὴ καὶ ἡ σύμβιος σου καὶ εὐξάσθω ἡμᾶς.” Φωνήσας δὲ τὴν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ, ἐξῆλθε  
 435 πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη ὥραία καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα οἷα οὐκ ἦν ὁμοία αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς κλίμασιν ὅλου τοῦ Πόντου. Θεωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοιούτῳ κάλλει περιλάμψασαν, καίτοι ἐν γήρῃ ὑπάρχουσιν, εἶπον πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ βασιλικοὶ· “Εἰσὶν ἐν ὑμῖν θυγατέρες;” Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ γέρων· “Υπάρχουσί μοι θυγατέρες δύο, μητέρες τῶν παιδαρίων ὧν ὑμεῖς θεωρεῖτε.” Εἶπον δὲ οἱ βασιλικοὶ· “Πάντως τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἔχουσι καὶ ἀδελφάς;” Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ γέρων· “Ἔστι τῆς θυγατρὸς μου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας θυγατέρες τρεῖς.” Εἶπον δὲ οἱ βασιλικοὶ· “Ἐξελθάτωσαν δὴ τὰ κοράσια, ἵνα ἴδωμεν αὐτάς κατὰ τὴν ἔνθεον  
 440 κέλευσιν τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστεμμένων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν· οὕτως γὰρ ἐκέλευσαν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀναξίοις δούλοις αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ διαλάθῃ

423 θεωρία G: θέα BYV loc. om. X || 427 Ἀβεσαλώμ G: Σαμφών βV || 430 ἡγάσθησαν scripsi: ἡγ. εἰς BV ἡράσθησαν G ἡρ. εἰς Y loc. om. X || 433 ἐγγόνια G: ἑγγονα βV || 434 καὶ εὐξάσθω scripsi: καὶ εὐξάτω (sic) G ὅπως εὐξῆται BYV ὅπως δέξεται Vasiliev loc. om. X || 438 καίτοι ...ὑπάρχουσιν scripsi: καὶ οὗτοι ἐν γήρῃ ὑπάρχοντες G καίτοι ἐν γήρᾳ οὖσαν BYV loc. om. X || 442 ἔστι G: εἰσὶν βV ||

<sup>83</sup> Lit. ‘clean’, cf. *VSymSal*, ed. Rydén, 159,1 σιλιγνια καθάρᾳ. For σπαστρικά = πασ-τρικά, see Du Cange, *Glossarium* s.v.

<sup>84</sup> This is a luxury table of mythical proportions, cf. *VBasileus* fol. 107v, ed. Veselovskij 43,8 where a wonderful table in heaven is described as a τράπεζα μεγίστη πήχεων τριάκοντα. The largest table in the so-called Chrysotriklinos in the imperial palace could only accommo-

wife prepared the most delicious<sup>83</sup> dishes, as she had used to do earlier when they were rich. When the table had been laid in the great dining-room the imperial envoys entered, and when they saw that the dining-room was very beautiful and also that the table was of ivory, old, gilded all over, of round form, and so large that it could seat thirty-six men<sup>84</sup>, and when they further saw that the food put on it was like that of a king and that the man was venerable and very handsome — for he was truly not only the very image of Abraham in hospitality but also like him in appearance — they were very pleased with him. When they had sat down at the table, the old man's son, John by name, entered. He was very handsome, for in his stature he was like Saul<sup>85</sup>, and he had the hair of Abessalom<sup>86</sup> and the beauty of Joseph<sup>87</sup>. His other offspring also came in, the sons of his sons, seven in number<sup>88</sup>, all adorned with beauty. When the imperial envoys saw them they were delighted by their beauty. They said to the merciful old man, "Venerable Father<sup>89</sup>, have you got a wife?" He answered, "Yes, gentlemen, I have, and these young boys are my children and grandchildren." They said to him, "May your wife come here too and give us her blessing!" He called his wife, and she came out to the men. She was also handsome and so beautiful in appearance that her equal was not to be found in the whole region of Pontos. Seeing that she, too, was shining all around with such beauty, although she was in her old age, the imperial envoys said to them, "Do you have daughters?" The old man answered, "I have two daughters, mothers of the boys whom you see." The imperial envoys said, "Surely these boys also have sisters?" The old man answered, "My elder daughter has three daughters<sup>90</sup>." The emperors's men said, "May the girls come out, that we may have a look at them according to the divine command of our great emperors, crowned by God, for they commanded us, their unworthy

date 30 guests, see Oikonomides, *Listes* 196, note 209. The number thirty-six is reminiscent of *DigAkr* ed. Jeffreys IV, 710 κτήματα πολλά ἀκίνητα τριανταεξ, *VloEl* ed. Festugière XIX, 11-12 γονάχην νομισμάτων τριάκοντα ἐξ and several other passages in various texts. The popularity of the number is probably due to the fact that 36 is half of 72. For the fact that only male guests are mentioned, see Koukoules, *Bios* 5, 169 and Kazhdan and McCormick, "The Social World of the Byzantine Court" 183f.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 9:2 Σαούλ, εὐμεγέθης.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. 2 Kings 14:26.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Gen. 39:6.

<sup>88</sup> According to the following, Philaretos had only one son, John. The expression "sons of his sons" is therefore inexact. The words "seven in number" are also difficult to combine with the following, according to which John had only four sons, although he had seven children altogether. Nor will it do if we include all Philaretos' grandsons, for they were nine, not seven. It may therefore be that the author is thinking of Job, who had seven sons (Job 1:2).

<sup>89</sup> The term καλόγερος indicates that Philaretos inspires the imperial men with the same respect as a monk, priest, or ascetic.

<sup>90</sup> Instead of ἔστι one would expect εἰσιν as in βV.

ἡμῖν πού ποτε ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων κόρη ἦν μὴ ἴδωμεν.”  
 Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ γέρον πρὸς τοὺς βασιλικούς· “Κύριοί μου, φάγωμεν  
 καὶ πίωμεν ἐξ ὧν ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν. Καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 450 — ἀπὸ κόπου ἐστὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ πολλῆς — καθευδήσατε ἐν  
 ἀμεριμνία καὶ αὖριον τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου γενέσθω.” Ἐγένετο  
 δὲ οὕτως.

Καὶ ὡς ἀνέστησαν τὸ πρῶτ' ἐπεζήτησαν πάλιν τὰ κοράσια μετὰ  
 455 σπουδῆς πολλῆς. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ γέρον· “Κύριοί μου,  
 ἡμεῖς εἰ καὶ πτωχοὶ ὑπάρχομεν, ἀλλ' οὖν αἱ θυγατέρες ἡμῶν  
 οὐδέποτε ἐξήλθουσιν ἐκ τοῦ κουβουκλίου αὐτῶν· ὡς δὲ κελεύετε,  
 οἱ ἐμοὶ δεσπόται, εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὸ κουβούκλιον καὶ θεάσασθε  
 αὐτάς.” (141) Ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες σπουδαίως εἰσῆλθουσιν εἰς  
 460 τὸ κουβούκλιον καὶ ὑπήντησαν αὐτοῖς αἱ θυγατέρες τοῦ γέροντος  
 μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῶν. Καὶ θεωρήσαντες τὰς μητέρας καὶ  
 θυγατέρας κάλλει σφοδροτάτῳ περιεκλαμψάσας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν θέαν  
 γυναικὸς ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ ἐξέστησαν, καὶ συγχαρεῖς  
 465 γενόμενοι καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι χωρίσαι τὰς μητέρας ἐκ τῶν  
 θυγατέρων διὰ τὸ ἰσόμετρον κάλλος τῆς θεᾶς αὐτῶν ἔφησαν πρὸς  
 τὸν γέροντα· “Ποῖαί εἰσιν αἱ θυγατέρες σου καὶ ποῖαι αἱ ἐγγονές  
 σου;” Ὁ δὲ διεχώρισεν αὐτάς, καὶ εὐθέως καταμετροῦσι τὸ μέτρον  
 τὸ βασιλικὸν τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς πρώτης καὶ εὖρον καθὼς ἔχουσιν.  
 Θεασάμενοι καὶ τὸ λαυρᾶτον ἡῦραν καὶ τοῦτο ὅμοιον, ὁμοίως καὶ  
 470 τὸ τζαγκίον καταμετρήσαντες τοῦ ποδὸς εὖρον ἰσόμετρον. Καὶ  
 ἄραντες ταύτας μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ  
 γέροντι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῶν ἀπήγεσαν μετὰ χαρᾶς εἰς τὸ  
 Βυζάντιον, ὁμοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν τριάκοντα.

Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ·

475 Ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης, ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ ἡ πρώτη αὐτοῦ Ὑπατία,  
 χήρα δὲ αὐτῇ, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Εὐανθία.

Τῆς δὲ χήρας αἱ θυγατέρες· ἡ μὲν πρώτη Μαρία, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα  
 Μυρανθία, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Εὐανθία, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀδελφὸς Πετρωνᾶς.

450 καθευδήσατε BX: καθευδήσατε Dölger καθευδήσαντες G καθίστατε Y loc. om. V  
 || 454 πάλιν Dölger: πάλαι G om. βV || 467 διεχώρισεν PβV: διεχώριζεν G || 467-  
 68 τὸ μέτρον τὸ βασιλικὸν G: τὸ βασιλικὸν μέτρον Y τῷ βασιλικῷ μέτρῳ BXV an  
 leg. μετ' τὸ μέτρον τὸ βασιλικόν? || 472 ἀπήγεσαν corr. F-L ἀπείησαν G ἦλθον βV ||  
 473 ὁμοῦ...Μιχαήλ lin. 481 om. X || 474 hinc usque ad Ὑπατία lin. 486 multo breviores  
 sunt βV ||

<sup>91</sup> For this expression, see Tabachovitz, *Studien* 11-13.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Genesis 1:6.

<sup>93</sup> According to Kazhdan, "Women at Home", 10 "neither archeology nor written texts confirm the existence of a Byzantine gynaeceum — they compel us neither to deny nor to accept its existence." The sources are contradictory. In this case the seclusion of the women may be a

servants, that no girl in the whole land of the Romans should escape being seen by us." The old man said to the imperial envoys, "Gentlemen, let us eat and drink of what God has given us and be merry! And then, being tired<sup>91</sup> after a long journey, go to sleep in tranquillity and let God's will be done tomorrow!" And it was so<sup>92</sup>.

*c. Maria qualifies for the competition. Departure for Constantinople*

When they got up in the morning they asked for the girls again with great zest. But the old man said to them, "Gentlemen, even if we are poor, our daughters never left their chamber.<sup>93</sup> But if you like, my Lordships, go into their chamber and look at them!" The men got up and eagerly went into the chamber, and the old man's daughters met them together with their daughters. And when they saw the mothers and the daughters modestly dressed<sup>94</sup> but radiating beauty more ravishing than the appearance of any other woman, they were amazed, and in their delight they were unable to distinguish the mothers from the daughters because of the equal beauty of their appearance and said to the old man, "Which are your daughters and which are your granddaughters?" He separated them, and at once they measured the size of the first with the imperial measure and found that it corresponded to what they were looking for. Comparing with the model portrait<sup>95</sup> they found that this also corresponded, and likewise measuring her foot by the shoe<sup>96</sup> they found that it fitted. And with great joy they took them with their mother and the venerable man and their whole household and left for Byzantium with joy, altogether thirty persons in number.<sup>97</sup>

*d. Presentation of the family*

These are the names of his children:

His son was called John, his elder daughter Hypatia (she was a widow), and the younger Euanthia.

Of the daughters of the widow the first was called Maria, the second Myranthia, the third Euanthia, and their brother was called Petronas.

literary device intended to make the tale more intriguing. It certainly fits a bride-show tale very well. Cf. *supra*, line 421, where the large table in the triclinium is said to have had room for 36 *men*, as if women did not participate in stately meals.

<sup>94</sup> ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ: cf. 1 Tim. 2:9.

<sup>95</sup> λαυρᾶτον, *laureatum, imago laureata*, the laurel-wreathed portrait of the emperor or, in this case, of the ideal empress. Kazhdan and Sherry, "Happy Fool", 353 note 7 suggest the unlikely meaning 'waist'.

<sup>96</sup> τζαγκίον "was usually applied to the emperor's purple shoes" (A. Kazhdan, *ODB* s.v. Tzangion) and is therefore an appropriate term in this context.

<sup>97</sup> Unless the imperial envoys are included, this is a round number, since the family as described in the following lines numbers only twenty-four people. The journey may have taken c. eight days, cf. *VSymNT*, ed. Hausherr 10,1.

Τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ὄνομα τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ αὐτῆς υἱῷ Ἀνθις, ὁ δὲ  
 480 δεύτερος Νικήτας, Πέτρος καὶ Φιλάρετος, Κοσμοῦ καὶ Ὑπατία,  
 καὶ ὁ τούτων πατήρ Μιχαήλ.

Τοῦ δὲ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ ἡ γυνὴ ἦτοί τοῦ Ἰωάννου, νύμφη δὲ  
 τοῦ ἐλεήμονος γέροντος, τοῦνομα Εἰρήνη. Τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν  
 485 παιδίων αὐτῆς ταῦτα· ὁ πρῶτος Βάρδας, ὁ δεύτερος Εὐστάθιος, ὁ  
 τρίτος Νικήτας, ὁ τέταρτος Φιλάρετος. Αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες αὐτῆς  
 Ἑλένη καὶ Εὐφημία καὶ Ὑπατία.

Ἐπελέχθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κόραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν δέκα, καὶ  
 ἤγοντο σὺν αὐταῖς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐλεήμονος θυγατρὸς θυγάτηρ παρεκάλει αὐτάς  
 490 λέγουσα· “Ἀδελφίδες μου, ποιήσωμεν σύνδεσμον πρὸς ἀλλήλας  
 ἥτις λέγεται ἀδελφοσύνη, καὶ οἷα ἐξ ἡμῶν βασιλεύσει ἵνα  
 ἀντιλαμβάνεται τὰς ἄλλας.” Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Γεροντιανοῦ θυγάτηρ,  
 πλουσία ὑπάρχουσα σφόδρα καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει, πεφυσιωμένη  
 495 ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς (143) αὐτήν· “Ἐγὼ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι καὶ  
 πλουσιωτέρα καὶ εὐγενεστέρα καὶ εὐμορφότερα ὑπάρχω, κάμοι  
 ἔχει ἐπιλέξεσθαι ὁ βασιλεὺς.” Ἡ δὲ ἐσιώπησεν καταισχυθεῖσα.

Εἶτα φθασάντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πρῶτον μὲν εἰσ-  
 ἤνεγκαν οἱ βασιλικοὶ τὴν τοῦ Γεροντιανοῦ θυγατέραν, καὶ ἰδόν-  
 500 τες αὐτήν ὃ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ τούτου μήτηρ βασίλισσα εἶπον  
 πρὸς αὐτήν· “Καλὴ μὲν ὑπάρχεις καὶ ὥραία, ἀλλὰ πρὸς βασιλέαν  
 οὐ ποιεῖς.” Δώσαντες δὲ αὐτὴν δόματα ἀπέλυσαν αὐτήν. Ὅμοιως  
 δὲ κατόρδινά θεασάμενοι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς οὐκ ἠρέσθησαν. Δώ-  
 σαντες καὶ αὐτάς δῶρα ἀπέλυσαν αὐτάς.

Ἐσχάτον δὲ πάντων εἰσηλθε καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐλεήμονος γέροντος  
 505 θυγάτηρ μὲ τὰς τρεῖς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτάς ὃ τε  
 βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ τούτου μήτηρ ἐξέστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει αὐτῶν καὶ  
 ἠδύνθησαν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστολῇ καὶ τῇ συνέσει αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τε τὸ

480 Κοσμοῦ G: Κοσμῷ βV || 485 αἱ corr. F-L: ἡ G || 498 θυγατέραν (sic G: -α BYV al. X): add. πρὸς Σταυράκιον τὸν τῶν ἀνάκτων ἐπιστήθιον, ὃς ἅπαντα ἐδιοῖκει τὰ τοῦ παλατίου V sim. β || 498-500 ἰδόντες...πρὸς αὐτήν G: ἰδὼν αὐτήν εἶπεν BYV sim. X || 500 βασιλέαν G: βασιλέως σύζυγον βV || 505 μὲ τὰς scripsi: με τὰς G μετὰ cum gen. BYV loc. om. X || 506 μήτηρ: add. καὶ Σταυράκιος ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ παλατίου BYV ||

<sup>98</sup> Of Philaretos' offspring βV mention only the following: his children John, Hypatia and Euanthia; Hypatia's daughters Maria and Myranthia; Euanthia's husband Michael and their daughters Kosmo and Hypatia. From here until the end βV offer an abbreviated text.

<sup>99</sup> If we may believe the words μὴ εὐρόντες *supra*, line 382, these ten girls were selected after Maria, although one has the impression that Maria and her family went straight to Constantinople, cf. Ludwig, *Sonderformen* 108. It is also remarkable that the girls are said to be brought to the emperor, not to the empress, although this is in line with the fact that after line 377 Irene is rarely mentioned.

The name of the first-born son of his younger daughter was Anthis, the second son was called Niketas, the third and fourth were called Petros and Philaretos, the daughters Kosmou and Hypatia, and the name of their father was Michael.

The name of the wife of his first-born son John, the daughter-in-law of the merciful old man, was Irene. These are the names of her children: the first was called Bardas, the second Eustathios, the third Niketas, the fourth Philaretos, and her daughters were called Helena, Euphemia and Hypatia.<sup>98</sup>

### *e. Maria and her competitors*

Other girls were also selected to the number of ten, and they were brought with them to the emperor.<sup>99</sup>

The merciful man's grand-daughter made a suggestion and said to them, "Dear sisters, let us make a pact between ourselves of the kind called sisterhood<sup>100</sup> that she who becomes empress shall assist the others." But Gerontianos' daughter, who was very rich and beautiful to look at, answered arrogantly, "I know for certain that I am both richer and nobler and more handsome than you and that the emperor will choose me." But Maria was ashamed and became silent.<sup>101</sup>

### *f. Maria wins the bride show*

Then arriving in Byzantium the imperial envoys first introduced the daughter of Gerontianos. When the emperor and his mother the empress saw her they said to her, "You are handsome and pretty, but for an emperor you will not do."<sup>102</sup> They provided her with gifts and sent her away. When they looked in turn at the others they were similarly disappointed. Providing them too with gifts they sent them away.

Last of all the merciful old man's daughter with her three daughters also came in.<sup>103</sup> When the emperor and his mother saw them they marvelled at their beauty and were delighted by their dress and intelligence and their

<sup>100</sup> ἀδελφοσύνη, the result of ἀδελφοποιία, would normally refer to ritual brotherhood, for which see C. Rapp, "Ritual brotherhood in Byzantium", *Traditio* 52 (1997) 285–326. The evidence for ritual sisterhood seems to be meagre, see, however, E. Catafygiotu-Topping, "St. Matrona and her friends: sisterhood in Byzantium", in *ΚΑΘΗΗΤΡΙΑ. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Athens, 1988) 211–224.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. "the cutting remarks from brazen tongues" (tr. Vinson) that Theodora had to suffer on her way to Constantinople for the bride-show on behalf of the emperor Theophilos, see the *Life of the Empress Theodora* ed. Markopoulos, ch. 3, 29. Cf. also Cinderella's wicked step-sisters in the fairy-tale.

<sup>102</sup> For πρὸς βασιλέαν οὐ ποιεῖς cf. the *Life of the Empress Theodora*, ed. Markopoulos 259,6–7 ἦν τοιαύτη, οἷα καὶ πρὸς γάμον ἤρμοζεν βασιλεῖ.

<sup>103</sup> I.e., Hypatia with her daughters Maria, Myranthia and Euanthia.



εὐσχημον βῆμα αὐτῶν. Καὶ παραυτὰ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐμνη-  
 510 στεύσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἐμνηστεύσατο εἰς τῶν  
 μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ, πατρίκιος ὄνομα Κωνσταντινάκιος, ὠραίος καὶ  
 αὐτὸς καὶ καλὸς τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα. Τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ἀπέλυσε  
 πρέσβεις ὁ τῶν Λογγιβάρδων βασιλεὺς, τὸ ὄνομα Ἀργούσης, μετὰ  
 καὶ δώρων πολλῶν πρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ αἰτούμενος  
 515 ταύτην μνηστεύσασθαι εἰς γυναῖκα. Ὅπερ καὶ γέγονε· δεξάμενος  
 γὰρ τὰ δῶρα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ἱκεσίαν τοῦ Ἀργούση ἀπέ-  
 στειλεν αὐτὴν μετὰ στολῆς πολλῆς καὶ τιμῆς μεγίστης.

Εἶτα τοῦ γάμου γενομένου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐφραινομένου ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ συνοικεσίου, ἐκέλευσε πάντας πανοικεῖ κλητορεῦσαι τῆς  
 520 γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν συγγένειαν τοῦ ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ φιλοτιμηῖσαι  
 αὐτοῦς. Εἶτα τούτου γενομένου ἀσπασάμενος πάντας ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 καὶ αἰδεσθεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ συγγενείᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πάντες  
 κάλλει κεκοσμημένοι ὑπῆρχον, μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι (145) αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκ τοῦ κλητορίου ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν δέδωκε φιλοτιμίας ἀπὸ τε  
 τοῦ πρεσβύτου ἕως τοῦ θηλάζοντος, κτήματα καὶ ἱματισμούς,  
 525 χρυσίον τε καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἔργα τίμια ἀπὸ τε λίθων τιμίων καὶ  
 σμαράγδων καὶ ὑακίνθων καὶ μαργαρίτων, καὶ οἰκίας μεγάλας  
 δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς πλησίον τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Καὶ κομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν ἐπελάθοντο  
 ἐνοχλεῖν τὸν γέροντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτε συνθεμένου αὐτοῖς χρήματος,  
 530 τὸ ὅπερ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔχει κεκρυμμένον. Ὁ δὲ γέρων οὐκ ἐπελάθετο,  
 ἀλλὰ συναθροίσας πάντας ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς· “Αὐριον ποιήσατε  
 ἡμῖν ἄριστον μέγαν, ἵνα καλέσωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν βασιλέα σὺν  
 τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκλητον. Καὶ ὥς ἔρχομαι ἐκ τοῦ  
 παλατίου, πάντα ἵνα εὕρω εὐτρεπισμένα.” Νομίζοντες δὲ ἀληθῶς  
 535 τὸν βασιλέα κεκληθῆναι τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐποίησαν ἄριστον  
 μέγαν σφόδρα.

Ὁ δὲ γέρων νυκτερεύσας ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον, καὶ  
 ὑποστρεφομένου αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ  
 540 ὅσους εὗρισκεν πτωχοὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐμβόλους ἐκάλει αὐτούς.  
 Συνέλεξε δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρας ρ', λωβούς, κυλλοὺς, χωλοὺς,

507-8 τὸ...βῆμα YV: τῷ εὐσχήμονι βήματι B τὸ σύσχημον βῆμα G om. X ||  
 526 μαργαρίτων GB: μαργάρων XY μαργαριτῶν V (etiam F-L) || 529 συνθεμένου G:  
 συντιθεμένου Dölger malim συντεθέντος al. βV || 532 μέγαν (sic) G: καλόν βV ||  
 534 πάντα ante ἐκ tr. G: corr. F-L loc. om. βV || 536 μέγαν (sic) G: loc. om. βV ||

<sup>104</sup> καταστολῇ...βῆμα: cf. Sir. 19:30 βήματα ἀνθρώπου ἀναγγέλλει τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>105</sup> The patrikios Konstantinakios does not seem to appear in other sources.

<sup>106</sup> Vasiliev identified Argouses with king Arechis of Benevento, but as on the one hand Arechis was married and died already in August 787 and, on the other hand, Constantine's and Maria's wedding took place in November 788 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 463,27), it is

graceful gait<sup>104</sup>. And straightway the first was betrothed to the emperor and the second to one of his great men, a patrikios called Konstantinakios, who was likewise handsome and very beautiful in his looks.<sup>105</sup> As to the third, the king of the Lombards, Argouses by name, sent ambassadors with many gifts to the Emperor Constantine requesting to marry her. This also happened, for the emperor accepted the gifts and the request of Argouses and sent her to him with much raiment and the greatest honours.<sup>106</sup>

*g. Maria's relatives rewarded by the emperor*

Then, when the wedding had taken place, the emperor, rejoicing at his marriage, gave orders that all the relatives of his wife with their whole families should be invited so that he could embrace them and present them with gifts. Then at the banquet the emperor embraced them all, and when they had risen from the table, out of regard for his wife's relatives because they were all adorned with beauty, he lavished presents upon each one of them, from the old man to the nursling, landed property, garments, gold and silver and precious works made of precious stones and emerald and jacinth and pearls. He also gave them big houses near the palace, whereupon he sent them off in peace.

## 5. The feast for the beggars

As they carried away their gifts to their homes they forgot to trouble the old man with the money he had once promised them, saying that he held it hidden. But the old man had not forgotten. He gathered them all and said, "Make us a great feast tomorrow, that we in our turn may invite the emperor with the patrikios<sup>107</sup> and the whole senate. And when I return from the palace, I want to find everything ready." Thinking that his son-in-law<sup>108</sup> the emperor had really been invited, they prepared a very great feast.

Having passed the night the old man went to the palace, and when he returned home he invited all beggars that he found in the porticoes. He collected men to the number of one hundred, maimed, crippled, lame, muti-

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now generally assumed that Euanthia was in fact married to Arechis' son and successor Grimoald, especially as Erchempert (9th century), author of a history of the Lombards, says that Grimoald married a niece (sic) of the *augustus Achivorum* called Wantia. If this is true, the wedding must have taken place at least one or two years after Maria was married to Constantine. According to Classen, *Karl der Grosse*, 33, the year 791 is a likely date for Euanthia's wedding. To this I would add that in 788 Euanthia was probably not yet of marriageable age. It seems strange that Niketas did not know to whom his own cousin was married. But as in the case of the bride-show Niketas is likely to have embellished an event in the history of the family that was less romantic than he would have liked. See also Introduction under "Philaretos and his family".

<sup>107</sup> Presumably, by the patrikios the relatives would understand Myranthia's husband, or husband to be, Konstantinakios. Alternatively one might consider reading τοῖς πατρικίοις.

<sup>108</sup> To be precise: "grandson-in-law".

ἀναπήρους, καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν αὐτὸς πρῶτον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ. Ἔφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέλαβεν ἅμα τοῦ πατρικίου καὶ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὓς οὐ προσεδοκοῦμεν οὔτε ἐκαλέσαμεν, καὶ οὗτοι παρεγένοντο ἐνταῦθα.” Θρύλλος δὲ ἐγένετο μέγας καὶ περισπασμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐν τῷ κλητορίῳ. Ἀνῆλθον δὲ οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ ἀνεκλίθησαν αὖθις ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. Θεασάμενοι δὲ οἱ οἰκεῖοι αὐτοῦ τὸ γεγονὸς ἤρξαντο πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ψιθυρίζειν· “Ὅντως ἀκμὴν ὁ γέρων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦθος οὐκ ἐπελάθετο, ἀλλ’ ὥδε ὅπου ἤλθομεν, καὶν θέλη, πτωχεῦσαι ἡμᾶς οὐ δύναται.”

Εἴτα συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν πτωχῶν ὁ γέρων ἐκέλευσεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ σπαθάριον ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβίου ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς ἑγγονας αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῆς βασιλίσσης τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξίωμα περιβεβλημένον παρασταθῆναι γυνηίως ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ ὑπουργῆσαι ὡς ἀληθῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν βασιλευόντων, κεκληκῶς ἅμα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, σαφῶς τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου λεχθὲν πληρῶν ὅτι· Ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε. (147) Οἱ δὲ μετὰ προθυμίας διηκόνουν.

Καὶ ὅτε ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον καὶ εὐφράνθησαν, τοῦ κανισκίου ἐπαρθέντος ἐκέλευσεν ὁ γέρων τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑγγονας αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ ἐνέγκαι ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης πάντα τὰ χρήματα, τὸ τε χρυσίον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν καὶ πᾶν ἔργον τίμιον ἐκ λίθων καὶ μαργαρίτων εἰργασμένον καὶ πάντα ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ὡς χαριεντιζόμενος μετ’ αὐτῶν εἶπεν· “Ὅπως ἴδωμεν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν.” Οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐν μιᾷ ῥοπῇ ἤνεγκαν πάντα καὶ ἐτοίμασαν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης σωροὺς σωροὺς ἐπιθέντες, ἐρίζοντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποδεῖξαι τῷ γέροντι τὸ τίναν πλεόν ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς καυχώμενοι ὅτι καὶ πάντως πλεόν αὐτὸν ἀγαπᾷ. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ γέρων· “Ἰδοὺ, τέκνα μου, τὸ χρῆμα ὃ ἐσυνεδέμην ὑμῖν τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον δέδωκα ὑμῖν. Μή τι ἄρα ἔχετε τι λέγειν πρὸς με;” Οἱ δὲ ἀναμνησθέντες τοὺς

546 διὰ: διὰ τε G || 549 ὄντως XV Dölger: οὕτως G οὗτος BY || 565 μαργαρίτων G: μαργαριτῶν corr. Dölger om. βV || 567–68 τῆς τραπέζης scripsi: τραπέζης G || 570 τίναν: sic G loc. om. βV ||

<sup>109</sup> Kazhdan and Sherry, “Happy Fool” 357, compare this episode, in which the social system is turned upside down, with *VioEl*, ed. Festugière, ch. 1, esp. line 25ff., where the patriarch calls the poor his lords.

<sup>110</sup> ἀνεκλίθησαν: cf. on the one hand συνανακλιθεὶς and συνανακειμένοις *infra*, lines 552 and 690, and on the other καθέζεσθαι and καθίσαντες *supra*, lines 420 and 426. Ac-

lated, and brought them to his home. And he entered his house first and said, "The emperor has arrived with the patrikios and the whole senate, but those whom we did not expect nor invite have also appeared."<sup>109</sup> There was great murmur and worry among his relatives because of the multitude that had come together in the dining-hall. The beggars went up to the table and lay down at once.<sup>110</sup> When his relatives saw what happened they whispered to each other, "Obviously the old man has not yet forgotten his old manner, but where we have come now he cannot reduce us to poverty, even if he wanted."

Then lying down with the beggars the old man ordered his son, who was spatharios and member of the imperial guard<sup>111</sup>, as well as his grandchildren, including the empress' brother who had been invested with the same rank<sup>112</sup>, to wait heartily at the table and truly serve the King of kings, having at the same time invited His brothers, thereby manifestly fulfilling the word of the Lord, "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me"<sup>113</sup>. And they served them cheerfully.

When they had eaten and drunk and made merry<sup>114</sup>, the food basket<sup>115</sup> was taken out and the old man commanded his son and his grandsons and his whole kindred to put upon the table all the money, in gold as well as in silver, the clothing, every work made of precious stones and pearls, and everything that the emperor had given to them. As if joking with them he said, "Let us see it lying on the table and rejoice!" In a moment all of them had brought everything and displayed it on the table, heaping one thing upon the other, competing with each other to show the old man to which of them the emperor had given most, each boasting, as it were, that he surely loved him more than the others. The old man said to them, "Look, my children, I have given you the hidden money I promised you."<sup>116</sup> Do you have anything to say to me?" Remembering the words of this holy man they all

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cording to this story, at court one lay down at table, whereas in the province one sat at table. In any case, as at a banquet in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Tables, the beggars lay down at the table.

<sup>111</sup> In addition to other weapons the members of the imperial guard were armed with *μαγάβια* 'cudgels' (or rather 'sticks', according to Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 179), hence their name *μαγλαβίται*. According to Oikonomides, *Listes*, 328, this is the first mention of the term. Instead of *μαγλαβίου* one would perhaps expect *μαγλαβίων*, but cf. the so called *Taktikon Uspenskij* (842-3), *ibidem*, 57, line 21 οἱ βασιλικοὶ σπαθάριοι τοῦ μαγλαβίου.

<sup>112</sup> I.e., Maria's brother Petronas.

<sup>113</sup> Matt. 25:40.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Luke 12:19.

<sup>115</sup> For the *κανίσκιον*, cf. *Apophthegmata Patrum*, PG 65, 421A Παρέβαλόν ποτε Σκητιῶται τῇ ἀμμᾷ Σάρρα. Ἦ δὲ παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς κανίσκιν. Οἱ δὲ ἀφέντες τὰ καλὰ, ἔφαγον τὰ σαπρά.

<sup>116</sup> *Supra*, lines 200-210.

575 λόγους τοῦ ἁγίου ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου ἐδάκρυσαν πάντες λέγοντες πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἀληθῶς, κύριε, αὐτὸς γινώσκεις ταῦτα πάντα, δίκαιος ὢν δικαίως καὶ ἐπραττες τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφρονες ὄντες τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ ἡμῶν συναπαγόμενοι προσεκρούομεν τῇ σῇ τιμιότητι. Ἀλλὰ συγχώρησον ἡμῖν, πάτερ, ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ  
580 θεοῦ καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου.” Καὶ πεσόντες πάντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσεπτύσσοντο τοῖς ἁγίοις ποσὶν αὐτοῦ αἰτούμενοι συγγνώμην.

Εἷτα συγχωρήσας αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐπευξάμενος αὐτοῖς ἡγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς·  
585 “Γινώσκετε, τεκνία μου, ὅτι ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίου· “Ὅστις πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ ἀγροὺς ἐγκαταλείψει ἑκατονταπλασίονα λήψεται. Ἰδοὺ, τὰ ἑκατονταπλασίονα ἐπλήρωσεν· εἰ δὲ θέλετε καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν κληρονομήσαι, ἀποχωρίσατε ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἀνὰ δέκα νομισμάτων  
590 καὶ δώσωμεν τοῖς συνανακειμένοις σὺν ἐμοί.” Οἱ δὲ μετὰ προθυμίας δέδωκαν πάντες καθὼς ἐκελεύσθησαν. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὁ γέρων· “Εἰ θέλετε τὴν ἐμὴν μοῖραν ἐξαγοράσαι ταῦτα τὰ βασιλικά ἔργα, ἐκβάλετε ἕκαστος ὑμῶν δικαίως ἐκάστου εἶδους τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λάβετε αὐτά. Εἰ δὲ οὐ θέλετε,  
595 διαδίδω ταῦτα τοῖς πένησι.” Οἱ δὲ πάντες (149) μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ χαρᾶς πολλῆς δέδωκαν τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἐν χρυσῷ τῷ γέροντι, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁμοθυμαδὸν χρυσίον λίτρες εἴκοσι ὀκτώ. Λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ θαυμάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπλότητι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν τὸν μὴ ἐπιλανθάνοντα τῶν πενήτων αὐτοῦ εἰς  
600 τέλος.

Γνωστὸν δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γερουσίᾳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Βυζαντίοις, καὶ ἡγάσθησαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σφόδρα. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς παρεῖχεν τοῦ ἁγίου γέροντος χρήματα πολλά, καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ, γνόντες τὴν  
605 ἐλεημοσύνην αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ γέρων ἐρόγευε ταῦτα τοῖς πτωχοῖς ἀδιαλείπτως. Οὕτως δὲ ἦν τὸ ἔθος τοῦ γέροντος· ἕνα ποτὲ νόμισμα ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ νομὴν οὐκ ἐδύνατο διδόναι πτωχῷ, ἀλλ’ ἐγέμιζε βαλάντιον χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἄλλο ἀργυρίου καὶ ἕτερον νομίων, καὶ ἐβάσταζεν αὐτὰ ὁ πρωτοβεστιτᾶριος αὐτοῦ Λύκαστος

578 συναπαγόμενοι BXV: συνεπ- G || 593 ταῦτα...ἔργα G: ἡγουν τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δόματα BYV loc. om. X || 595 διαδίδω P: διαδίδω G διαδίδωμι XY loc. om. B διαδιδῶ F-L || 597 χρυσίον G: χρυσοῦ BY om. V loc. om. X || 597 λίτρες: sic G || 602 πᾶσι corr. F-L: πενία G πᾶσι...Βυζαντίοις om. βV || 602 ἡγάσθησαν BYV: ἡγάσθησαν GX || 611 τὰ BYV: om. G loc. om X ||

wept and said, "In truth, Sir, you know all this yourself. Being just you have justly shown mercy, whereas we, being foolish, have been carried away by our foolishness and been angry with Your Honour.<sup>117</sup> But forgive us, father, we have sinned before God and before you." And falling to the floor<sup>118</sup> on their faces they all embraced his holy feet, asking his forgiveness.<sup>119</sup>

Then the old man forgave them, gave them his blessing and made them stand up from the floor. He said to them, "My children, you know that through His holy Gospel God promised that everyone who forsakes his father or mother or lands will receive a hundredfold<sup>120</sup>. Look, he has fulfilled the hundredfold; if you also want to inherit eternal life, set apart ten gold coins each and let us give it to those who are reclining with me at the table." And they all gave willingly as they had been told. Again the old man said to them, "If you want to buy my share of these imperial precious works<sup>121</sup> everyone of you should pay the right price for every item and take it. If you don't want to, I shall distribute it among the poor." But they all paid the old man their price in gold with eagerness and great joy, paying twenty-eight pounds of gold in all. The beggars took it, marvelling at the man's generosity and praising God who never forgets his poor until the end.<sup>122</sup>

## 6. How Philaretos gave money to the beggars

This became known to the emperor and his great men and the whole senate and all the Byzantines<sup>123</sup>, and they admired the man much. The emperor provided the holy old man with much money and so did the great men, since they knew his mercifulness. And the old man constantly distributed it among the poor. He used to do like this: he could never give one gold or silver or copper coin to a beggar but filled one purse with gold, another with silver and a third with copper coins<sup>124</sup>, and his wholly faithful pro-

<sup>117</sup> ἄφρονες ὄντες...προσεκρούμεν. These words may imply that, earlier, they had regarded Philaretos as a fool, although this opinion was never expressed openly. Now, however, they understand that the opposite was true.

<sup>118</sup> Since they are in a dining-room, one expects a word meaning 'floor' rather than ground.

<sup>119</sup> Note that Theosebo never asks forgiveness.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Matt. 19:29 par. Cf. *supra*, lines 170-3.

<sup>121</sup> μοῖραν...ταῦτα τὰ βασιλικά ἔργα: this use of the acc. for the partitive genitive is striking but not unparalleled in hagiography of the ninth and tenth century.

<sup>122</sup> For the idea that you should sell your possessions and give to the poor, see Luke 12:33. Cf. also Matt. 19:21 Εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ὑπάγε πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δός πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. The last part of this quotation will be illustrated in Philaretos' farewell speech.

<sup>123</sup> 'Byzantines' = the inhabitants of Constantinople. Note that the empress is not mentioned.

<sup>124</sup> For the three purses, see Introduction under "Philaretos' largesse".

610 πιστός πάνυ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ. Ἦσαν δὲ  
 τὰ βαλάντια τῇ ἰδέᾳ ὅμοια καὶ ἰσάριθμα, καὶ ὅτε ἐζήτησεν  
 πτωχός, ἐζήτηε τὸ βαλάντιον, τὸ δὲ ποῖον οὐκ ὠνόμαζεν, εἰ μὴ  
 ἐπίστευεν ἐν τῷ θεῷ ὅτι “Οἶον κελεύει ὁ θεός, ἐκεῖνό μοι ἔχει  
 615 ἀπανδοῦναι· αὐτὸς γὰρ γινώσκει πάντων τὰ ἐγκάρδια καὶ  
 ἐκάστου τὴν πενίαν, καὶ καθ’ ὃ ἂν τις χρεῖαν ἔχει, οὕτως καὶ  
 παρέχει αὐτῷ, ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστάμενος ὁ γέρων ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ  
 πλούσιοι πτωχεύοντες τοῖς μὲν ἐσθῆτα περιβέβληνται διὰ τὴν  
 ἀρχαίαν εὐγένειαν, τοῖς δὲ βρωμάτων μὴ ἔχοντες ἀπολαῦσαι  
 620 ἐνδεεῖς ἐτέρων γίνονται. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ φαινόμενοι πτωχοὶ ἔχοντες  
 χρήματα ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οἴκοις, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας πενίας ἔθος μὴ  
 ἐπιλανθανόμενοι περιβεβλημένοι ῥάκη ἀπὸ κοπρίας συνηγμένα  
 προσατεῖς γίνονται, συλλέγοντες χρήματα ὅπερ καὶ πλεονεξία  
 τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται καὶ εἰδωλολατρεία· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ περισσὸν τῆς  
 625 χρεῖας πλεονεξία καὶ εἰδωλολατρεία λέγεται. Οὐκ εἰς πάντας  
 ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ’ ἕκαστος κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον ὃ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ, τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαιτηθήσεται.” Ταῦτα κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ὁ ἅγιος  
 γέρων ἐν τῇ κρίσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἔβαλε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ  
 βαλαντίῳ, κἂν τε τοῦ χρυσοῦ κἂν τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου κἂν τε τοῦ  
 χαλκοῦ, οἶον ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευε, τοῦτο καὶ ἐκράτει. Ἐλεγεν δὲ καὶ  
 630 αὐτὸς μεθ’ ὅρκου (151) ὅτι· “Πολλάκις εἶδον ἀνθρωπον φοροῦντα  
 ἱμάτια καλὰ καὶ ἐχάλασα τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐν τῷ βαλαντίῳ ὥς  
 βουλόμενος κρατῆσαι ἐν καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ, ὅτι πάντως κατὰ τὴν  
 στολὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶ πτωχός, καὶ μὴ θέλοντός μου ἠπλώθη ἡ  
 635 χεὶρ μου καὶ ἀνήνεγκα πολλὰ καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ. Ὅμοίως δὲ εἶδον  
 ἕτερον φοροῦντα ῥάκη παλαιὰ καὶ ἠπλωσα τὴν χεῖρά μου δοῦναι  
 αὐτῷ πολλὰ, καὶ ἀνήνεγκα ὀλίγα.”

614 ἀπανδοῦναι: ἀποδοῦναι B δοῦναι Y ἐπιδοῦναι V loc. om. X || 614 ἐγκάρδια  
 BYV: ἐνκάρδια G loc. om. X || 616 παρέχει scripsi: παρεῖχεν G: δωρεῖται BYV loc. om.  
 X || 616 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ G: ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ F-L om. BYV loc. om. X || 616 ὁ γέρων G: om.  
 BYV loc. om. X || 617 ἐσθῆτα G: ἐ. λαμπρά B ἐ. λαμπρῶς Y ἐ. λαμπρὰν V loc. om. X  
 || 618 ἔχοντες scripsi: ἔχοντας G ἀπολαύοντες BV ἀπολαβόντες Y loc. om. X ||  
 622 προσατεῖς GBXV: αἰτεῖν Y προσαίτεις F-L loc. om. X || 630 μεθ’ ὅρκου BYV  
 (etiam G post corr.): μετόρκου G μετόρκου P loc. om. X || 630 φοροῦντα BYV: φορόντα  
 G loc. om. X ||

125 The title *protovestiaris* usually refers to the eunuch responsible for the emperor's personal wardrobe (βεστιάριον), see Oikonomidēs, *Listes*, 305, but a private *protovestiaris* (in the service of a *δομῆστικος* τῶν ἱκανάτων and a *stratelates*, respectively) is also mentioned in the *Chronicle* of Georgios Monachos 847 and in the highly legendary *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 5,25. In βV he is just called 'servant', whereas in a similar context in *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, ch. 7, he is called *διαδοτής* 'distributor', for the role of whom see the editor's note 540f.; cf.

tovestiarios Lykastos carried them in the fold of his garment and followed him.<sup>125</sup> The purses had the same form and contained the same number of coins.<sup>126</sup> When a beggar asked for alms, he asked for the purse but did not mention which one since, believing in God, he was convinced that "the one God wants me to have, he will give me, for He knows the heartfelt wishes of all men and the need of everybody, and He grants according to everyone's needs, for, old man that I am, I know from my own experience that many rich men who have become impoverished on the one hand remain properly dressed<sup>127</sup> because of their original nobility, on the other are unable to provide themselves with food and therefore become dependent on others.<sup>128</sup> There are also the seeming poor who have money at home but fail to forget the custom of their old poverty and therefore dress themselves in rags gathered from a rubbish heap and become beggars collecting money, which is called covetousness and idolatry, for everything that goes beyond one's needs is called covetousness and idolatry<sup>129</sup>. This does not refer to all men, but each one will be asked to return what he has received from God according to his own measure." With this in mind the holy old man, trusting in the judgment of God, put his hand in the purse and picked up what God decided, no matter whether it was of gold or silver or copper. He himself said with an oath, "Often when I saw a man in beautiful garments I let down my hand into the purse intending to take one coin and give him, thinking that, judging from his dress, he was surely not a beggar, and against my will my hand opened and I picked up many and gave him. In the same way, seeing another in old rags, I opened my hand to give him many coins but came up with only a few."<sup>130</sup>

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also that according to *PratSpir*, PG 87,3: 2976 A-B, John Moschos used to carry Sophronios' money; also *VMartini* ch. 8 καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἠκολούθει τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν πτωχῶν ἐπικομιζόμενος, and ch. 9 ὁ δὲ διάκονος τετρακοσίους χρυσίνους ἐβάσταζεν εἰς λόγον τῶν δεομένων. In *VPh* the term may be used to emphasize Philaretos' favoured position at the court.

<sup>126</sup> Lit.: 'were equal in number'.

<sup>127</sup> I understand ἐσθής as a more or less formal dress in contrast to ῥάκη 'rags' *infra*, line 635.

<sup>128</sup> For the ungrammatical dative τοῖς μὲν...τοῖς δὲ cf., *inter alia*, Life of Andrew the Fool ed. Rydén, line 2065f. οὕτως ἡρνήσω κόσμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ and *VNikMedik*, AASS April I (1866) XVIII-XXVII, ch. 15 Καταφρονήσωμεν κόσμου καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Col. 3:5.

<sup>130</sup> This passage may be compared with *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, ch. 7, in which a man dresses himself in old cloths in order to put Saint John's generosity to the test. He approaches him three times in different guises. The first time he receives six gold coins, the second time another six gold coins, although it is clear that he is the same man, but the third time John says to his διαδότης: "Give him twelve gold coins, maybe it is my Christ who is testing me." Note that in his rural milieu Philaretos only gave away property, whereas in Constantinople he gives away money.



Ζήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἔτη τέσσαρα μὴ καταδεξάμενος  
 χιτῶνα σηρικὸν φορέσαι, μήτε χρυσὸν περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν  
 περιζώσασθαι, μήτε ἀξίωμα μέγα λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 340 πάρεξ τὸ ὑπατίκιν, καὶ τοῦτο βίας πολλῆς αὐτῷ καὶ παρακλήσεως  
 προσενεχθείσης παρὰ τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ  
 — ἔλεγε δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· “Ἀρκετόν μοι ἔστι τὸ κεκληῖσθαι  
 πάππος βασιλέως” τοσαύτην γὰρ ταπείνωσιν ἔσχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὥστε  
 345 μὴ ἀνεχόμενος ἀκοῦσαι παρὰ τινος ὄνομα ἕτερον ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ, Φιλάρετος ὁ Ἀμνιάτης — τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα ἔτη  
 ἐλεημόνως καὶ πιστῶς ζήσας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, διδάσκων καὶ τὰ  
 τέκνα αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν, ἡξιώθη καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ  
 ἰδίου ἀποκαλύψεως. Ἔτι γὰρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἐρρωμένου  
 350 ὑπάρχοντος, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν λαβὼν τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον αὐτοῦ  
 κατ’ ἰδίαν ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον εἰς τὴν  
 Κρίσιν (καὶ Ῥοδοφύλλιον τινες αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν, παρθένοι δὲ  
 σεμναὶ ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκοῦσι), αἰτήσας μνημεῖον παρὰ τῆς ἡγουμένης.  
 Καὶ δούς αὐτῇ χρυσίον ἱκανὸν ἔλαβε παρ’ αὐτῆς λάρνακα καινόν,  
 355 θαρρήσας καὶ τὴν ἡγουμένην ὅτι· “Μετὰ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐξέρχομαι  
 τοῦ βίου τούτου καὶ ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὴν ἀμείνω μακαριότητα, καὶ  
 θέλω ἵνα κατατεθῇ τὸ ἄθλιόν μου σῶμα εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον τούτο”,  
 μιμησάμενος καὶ τούτῳ τὸν γενναῖον Ἀβραάμ· κάκεινος γὰρ ζῶν  
 ἡγόρασε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἐμὸς τοῦ Χετταίου τιμῆς  
 360 ἀργυρίου. Παρήγγειλε δὲ τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον αὐτοῦ μηδενὶ  
 εἰπεῖν τὸ λαληθέν. Ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ διαδοὺς  
 πάντα τὰ καταλειφθέντα αὐτῷ πτωχοῖς, τὰ τε ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ

637–38 χιτῶνα...φορέσαι scripsi: φορέσαι σηρικὸν (σηρικοῦν XYV) χιτῶνα βV  
 χιτῶνας σιρικοφορέσαι G || 642 ἀρκετόν BV: ἀρκεσθὼν G ἀρκεῖ Y loc. om. X ||  
 644 ἀνεχόμενος scripsi: ἀνεσχόμενος G ἡνέσχετο BXV ἡθελεν Y || 647–48 τελευτῆς  
 ...ἀποκαλύψεως G: τ. αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν V sim. β malim ἰδίας αὐτοῦ τελ-  
 ευτῆς ἀποκαλύψεως || 651 Ῥοδοφύλιον (sic) G: Ῥοδοφυλλίου BYV loc. om. X ||  
 651 παρθένοι corr. F–L: παρθέναι Gal. βV || 653 λάρνακα καινόν X: λ. καινήν Y  
 λαρνάκιον καινόν B λ. κενόν G λ. κενήν V || 656 κατατεθῇ BXV: καταθέτε G κατ-  
 ἀθετε corr. F–L κατελθεῖν Y || 657 καὶ τούτῳ scripsi: καὶ τοῦτο G loc. om. bV ||  
 660 ἀπελθὼν: hinc usque ad lin. 731 lacunam habet B ||

<sup>131</sup> To judge from what was said above, this does not mean that Philaretos actually lived in the palace, only that he spent his days there.

<sup>132</sup> See Oikonomides, “Contents”, 210: “Particularly expensive (and always mentioned separately) were *belts*, some of which were decorated with gold and precious stones. Belts were signs of rank and authority...”

<sup>133</sup> This may be a euphemism, namely if the empress Irene herself saw to it that neither Philaretos nor his son and grandson obtained high positions. She certainly did not wish to help Constantine VI to create his own sphere of influence. As is well known, by this time consul had

## 7. Philaretos buys himself a tomb

Having spent four years in the palace,<sup>131</sup> refusing to put on a silken shirt or wear gold around his waist<sup>132</sup> or accept a high position from the emperor except for the consulate,<sup>133</sup> and this only after much pressure and insistence had been brought to bear on him both by the emperor and by his great men — for he said to the emperor, “It is enough for me to be called the emperor’s grandfather;”<sup>134</sup> the man had such humbleness that he could not stand hearing himself being called by another name than his old one, Philaretos from Amnia —, having as I said<sup>135</sup> spent four years in the palace in mercy and faith, teaching his children to do the same, he was even granted a revelation of his own demise. One day while his body was still sound he took his protovestiaros and went up privately to the monastery called *Eis tēn Krisin* (some also call it Rhodophyllion, and holy virgins live there),<sup>136</sup> asking the abbess for a tomb. Giving her a considerable sum of money he received from the abbess a new<sup>137</sup> sarcophagus, confiding to her, “Ten days from now I shall depart from this life and go to the blissful and better world and I want my wretched body to be laid<sup>138</sup> in this tomb”, also in this imitating the noble Abraham<sup>139</sup>, for while he lived he too bought his tomb from Emos the Chettite for a sum of silver<sup>140</sup>. And he ordered his protovestiaros that he should tell no one of what had been said. After he had returned home and distributed all that was left of his possessions among the poor,

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become an honorary title of rather slight prestige, see Oikonomides, *Listes*, 296. I have not found the form ὑπατικὴν for ὑπατικὸν δέξιμα in the lexica.

<sup>134</sup> Strictly speaking, Philaretos was the father of the emperor’s mother-in-law. The β therefore writes “grandfather of the augusta”. Note that the version edited by Vasiliev, 79, 10–11, writes ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μόνον τὸ καλεῖσθαι βασιλέως πατέρα, which corresponds to the title βασιλεοπάτωρ, created by Leo VI for his father-in-law Stylianos Zaoutzes.

<sup>135</sup> The words “as I said” renders the τὰ δὲ ἐν τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα ἔτη.

<sup>136</sup> This is the first mention of a monastery with this name (variants: Κρίσις, ἐν τῇ Κρίσει), best known as the burial place of the fictitious St Andrew en Krisei, see Auzépy, “De Philarète” 127ff. It was situated in south-west Constantinople, between the walls of Constantine and Theodosios, to the north of the Stoudios monastery. For its history, including its transformation into the still standing mosque Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 172–196. The alternative name Rhodophyllion does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. Why Philaretos chose this particular monastery is not clear; perhaps it had connections with Paphlagonia.

<sup>137</sup> Or, reading κενόν, ‘empty’.

<sup>138</sup> Since G’s καταθέτε is an irregularly accentuated aorist imperative in a subordinate clause, I have adopted the form κατατεθῇ appearing in β.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. *supra*, lines 422–424.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Acts 7:16 and Gen. 23:3–20. Instead of Emos one would expect Emmor as in Acts or Ephron as in Genesis.

εἴ τι ἂν εἶχεν, ἤρξατο τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀλγεῖν καὶ καταπεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἡσθάνει.

- (153) "Ὅτε δὲ ἐπληρώθησαν ἡμέραι ἑννέα, τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ  
 665 ἐκέλευσε συναχθῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ. Συναχθέντων  
 δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· "Τινώσκετε, τέκνα μου, ὅτι  
 ἐκάλεσέν με ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀφίω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀπέρχομαι."  
 Νομίζοντες δὲ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ εἶρηκεν  
 εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· "Καὶ πῶς δύνασαι, πάτερ, ἀπελθεῖν τῇ νόσῳ  
 670 βαρούμενος;" Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· "Εἰσὶν οἱ ἐλθόντες βασταῆσαι  
 με μετὰ θρόνου χρυσοῦ, οἱ παρέστησαν ἐκ δεξιῶν μου μετὰ δόξης  
 πολλῆς καὶ οὐ βλέπετε αὐτούς." Οἱ δὲ συνιέντες τὸ ῥῆμα ἤρξαντο  
 θρῆνον μέγαν σφόδρα ποιεῖν, ὥς ποτε τὸν Ἰακώβ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα,  
 ὁ δὲ κατασεύσας αὐτούς τῇ χειρὶ ἐκέλευσε σιωπῇν παρέχειν.  
 675 Σιωπησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· "Οἴδατε, τέκνα μου,  
 τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν τὸ πῶς ἐκ νεότητός μου ἐπόθησα τὴν  
 ἐλεημοσύνην. Ἐξ οἰκείου πόνου μου ταύτην πράττω καὶ οὐχὶ ἐξ  
 ἀρπαγῆς, ἐν νῷ ἔχων τὸ γεγραμμένον ὅτι· 'Ὁ θύων υἱὸν ἐναντι  
 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὕτως ὁ προσάγων θυσίας ἐκ χρημάτων πενήτων.  
 680 Οἴδατε δὲ τινες ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν πρότερον ἡμῶν τὸν αἰσθητὸν  
 πλοῦτον, οἴδατε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ ἐπελθούσαν ἡμῖν πενίαν πρὸς  
 ὀλίγον χρόνον, οἴδατε δὲ καὶ τὸν παρόντα πλοῦτον. Μὴ εἰδετέ μέ  
 ποτε ἀλλάξαντα τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης; Μὴ εἰδετέ μέ ποτε  
 685 ὑπερφηφανευόμενόν τινα; Μὴ εἰδετέ μέ ποτε ἀρπάσαντά τινός  
 ποτέ τι; Καὶ ἀπλῶς ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἐν λέγω, ἰδοὺ, ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν  
 ὥς οἴδατέ με ποιοῦντα, οὕτως ποιήσατε — εἰ δὲ καὶ πλεῖον  
 τούτου ποιήσετε, μακαριώτεροι φανήσεσθε. Μὴ ἐλεήσητε τὸν  
 αἰσθητὸν πλοῦτον ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ δίδοτε τοῦτον τοῖς πένησι καὶ  
 690 ὑμᾶς φυλάξω αὐτὸν ἄσηπτον, καὶ ὅτε ἔλθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς, εὐρίσκετε

669 πῶς XYV: τέως G || 674 αὐτούς (κατασεύσας δὲ αὐτούς τῇ χειρὶ σιγᾶν) XYV: αὐτοῦ G || 683 ἔθος YV: εἶδος G loc. om. X || 688 ὑμῶν scripsi: ἡμῶν G ||

<sup>141</sup> Presumably, the words πάντα τὰ καταλειφθέντα αὐτῷ refer to Philaretos' personal, movable belongings and not to his real property, since, to judge from the epilogue, his widow was still a very wealthy person. If so, his final act of charity corresponds to what Niketas says of his brothers Eustathios and Philaretos, namely that, before they took the vows, they gave their current assets but not their landed property to the poor, see *infra*.

<sup>142</sup> For the heavenly King's summons, cf. *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, ch. 52: when John the Merciful is about to die, a eunuch appears to him, saying, Δεῦ, κέλευσον, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων ζητεῖ σε. As H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des Heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien* (Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1893), 153 dem-

his garments and whatever he had,<sup>141</sup> his body began to ail and he lay down on his bed and was ill.

### 8. Philaretos' farewell speech

Nine days passed and on the tenth he gave orders that his whole kindred should be gathered. When they had assembled, he told them, "My children, know that the King has summoned me and that I am leaving you and going away."<sup>142</sup> Thinking that he was speaking of his grandson-in-law<sup>143</sup> the emperor they said to him, "Father, how can you go away when you are afflicted with illness?" He answered them, "Men have come to carry me away on a golden throne, standing on my right-hand side in great glory although you cannot see them."<sup>144</sup> Understanding what he was saying they began to weep bitterly, as once Jacob's sons had wept over Jacob,<sup>145</sup> but he motioned to them with his hand ordering them to be quiet. When they had become silent he said to them, "My children, you know my way of life, how I have loved mercy since I was young. I practise this with the fruit of my own work and not with stolen goods, remembering that it has been written, 'Like one who kills a son before his father's eyes, so is he who offers sacrifices from the property of the poor'<sup>146</sup>. Some of you know the material wealth we enjoyed earlier, you also know the poverty that came upon us for a while with God's permission, and you also know our present prosperity: did you ever see me changing my customary mercy? Did you ever see me treating anybody arrogantly? Did you ever see me robbing anybody of anything? And in short, lest I enumerate every detail, look, I command you: do as you have seen me doing,<sup>147</sup> and if you do more, you will appear even more blessed. Do not spare your material wealth but give it to the poor and send it to me in the world where I am going, for I shall keep it incorruptible for you, and when you also arrive, you will recover it.<sup>148</sup> And do not leave it here, lest others shall live in luxury on your goods<sup>149</sup>. Do

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onstrated, this formula derives from the ritual of the imperial funeral as described in *De cer.*, ed. Vogt, II, 84. Cf. also *ActDavSymGeorg* 257, 20f.: one night an angel appeared to George telling him of his approaching death with the words, Καλεῖ σε βασιλεύς. See also *ibidem*, 258, 17.

<sup>143</sup> Lit. 'son-in-law'.

<sup>144</sup> I.e. the angels who carry off a righteous person's soul when he dies.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Gen. 50:1.

<sup>146</sup> Sir. 34:20.

<sup>147</sup> For οἴδατε, cf. *supra*, line 199 εἰδώς = ἰδών.

<sup>148</sup> For parallels, see Introduction under "Was Philaretos a happy fool?"

<sup>149</sup> ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς...ἕτεροι: cf. Sir. 14:4. V adds the words ἐστὶ πολλάκις, καὶ οἷς οὐ θέλετε, τοῦτον ἔατε (sim. XY), which are reminiscent of *VAni*, ed. Bartelink, ch. 17,5, the Life of Andrew the Fool ed. Rydén, line 2056f. and several other passages in hagiographical texts. Cf. also Ps. 38:7 θησαυρίζει καὶ οὐ γινώσκει τίς συνάζει αὐτά.

αὐτόν. Καὶ μὴ ἐάσητε αὐτόν ἐντεῦθεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς  
 ὑμῶν τρυφήσουσιν ἕτεροι· οὐκ οἴδατε τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν τῇ  
 Σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι· Σπεύδει πλουτεῖν βάσκανος ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐκ  
 οἶδεν ὅτι ἐλεήμων κρατήσῃ αὐτά· Ὑποδείκνυμι δὲ ὑμῖν πιστοὺς  
 695 ἀποκρισιαρίους, οὓς ἔχετε πιστεῦειν τὰ χρήματα ἅπερ βούλεσθε  
 προπέμπειν μοι ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα μὴ δολιεύονται ὑμᾶς τί ποτε  
 κομίζοντες ταῦτα εἰς τὸν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀσύλητον θησαυρόν. Βλέ-  
 πετε μὴ ἀνέχεσθε ταῦτα πέμπειν μοι διὰ πλουσίων — δυσκόλως  
 700 γὰρ οὗτοι εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ  
 γεγραμμένον — ἀλλὰ ταῦτα προπέμποντες διὰ πενήτων, διὰ  
 χρηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν, (155) διὰ ξένων, διὰ τῶν ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων αὐτῶν· οὗτοι γὰρ εὐκόλως εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 καὶ ἀποσώζουσι τὰ χρήματα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, κἂν ἁμαρτωλοὶ  
 τυγχάνουσι κἂν δίκαιοι. Οἱ μὲν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀποφέρουσιν αὐτὰ ἐκ  
 705 τῶν ἐκεῖσε καὶ παραδιδόασιν αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι,  
 μὴ ἀξιούμενοι συνδιαγχειν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ Ἀβραάμ κα-  
 ταγράφεται αὐτά. Οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι κομίζουσιν αὐτὰ ἕως οὗ ἀπέλθῃ  
 καὶ ὁ δούς αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπολαμβάνῃ αὐτὰ μυριοπλασίονα σὺν  
 τούτοις.”

710 Παισάμενος δὲ τῆς διδαχῆς καὶ ἐπευξάμενος καὶ εὐλογήσας  
 αὐτούς ἐκέλευσε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καθὼς περ Ἰακώβ ποτε τὸν  
 Ἰωσήφ, ἐνέγκαι τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὅπως εὐλογῇ αὐτούς. Καὶ  
 ἤνεγκεν αὐτούς. Καὶ ἤνεγκε τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ Βάρδα, καὶ  
 εὐλόγησεν αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναστῆσαι κύριον τὸν θεὸν σπέρμα αὐτοῦ  
 715 εἰς ἔτη πολλὰ εἰς διακράτησιν τοῦ γένους. Ὅπερ καὶ γέγονε·  
 μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς συνοικῆσας γυναικὶ ἐγέννησεν ἑπτὰ τέκνα καὶ  
 ἀπέθανε.

Καὶ προσῆνεγκε τὸν δεύτερον, Εὐστάθιον, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ  
 720 τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· “Τέκνον, ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ὁ βίος σου  
 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν γὰρ τῇ νεότητί σου τελευτήσεις. Λοιπὸν μὴ  
 φροντίσης τοῦ ἐπιγείου, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἀδελφικά σου διάδος  
 πτωχοῖς, ἵνα ἔξεις θησαυρόν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, οὐ γὰρ βιώσεις πλείονα  
 τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων χρόνων ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ. Λοιπὸν ἀγωνίζου τὰ

693 σπεύδει πλουτεῖν V ut LXX: σπουδῇ πλουτεῖ G loc. om. XY || 696 δολιεύονται  
 corr. F-L: δολεύονται G loc. om. XYV || 711 Ἰακώβ P: Ἰάκωβ G loc. om. XYV ||  
 712 αὐτούς P: τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ G || 713 αὐτοῦ G: malim αὐτῷ al. XYV ||  
 720 τελευτήσεις Y: τελευτῆς G al. V loc. om. X ||

you not know what is written in the Wisdom of God, 'A grudging man makes haste to be rich, and knows not that a merciful man will take hold of it'?<sup>150</sup> I shall show you trustworthy conveyers, to whom you can entrust the riches that you want to send me there in advance, lest they embezzle something while bringing it to the safe and inviolable treasury. See that you do not let them be conveyed by the rich — for hard it will be for them to enter the kingdom of God, as it is written<sup>151</sup> — but let them be conveyed by the poor, by widows and orphans, by strangers, by those in prison and those like them, for they, be they sinners or righteous, will easily enter Paradise and bring your money safely to the emperors.<sup>152</sup> The sinners will take them from this world and hand them over to Abraham and withdraw, as they are unworthy to live together with him, but Abraham will keep record of them. And the righteous shall bring them until the giver also departs and recovers them multiplied ten thousandfold together with them."

### 9. Philaretos predicts the future of his son John's children, and dies

When he had finished his teaching, prayed for them and given them his blessings, he commanded his son, as Jacob once commanded Joseph, to bring him his sons, that he might bless them<sup>153</sup>. And he brought them. And he brought his first-born Bardas, and he blessed him that the Lord God might raise up seed to him<sup>154</sup> for many years for the preservation of his family. Which also happened, for he alone lived in wedlock and became father of seven children, whereupon he died.

And he brought him his second son Eustathios, and grasping his right hand he said to him, "Child, your life on earth is short, for you will die in your youth. Therefore, do not be concerned about earthly things but distribute your whole share in the inheritance<sup>155</sup> among the poor, that you may have a treasure in the heavens, for you will not live more than twenty-four

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Prov. 28:22, where, however, the object of κρατήσῃ is not αὐτά but αὐτοῦ, so that the meaning is, "a merciful man will have the mastery over him". For Sophia as title of Provverbs see Lampe s.v. σοφία C.5.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Mark 10:23.

<sup>152</sup> For other examples of this idea, see Introduction under "Was Philaretos a happy fool?"

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Gen. 48:9.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Gen. 38:8. For αὐτοῦ = αὐτῷ cf. *supra*, line 116.

<sup>155</sup> Evidently, ἀδελφικά stands for ἀδελφική μερίς, for which see Talbot, ed., *Holy Women* 281, note 129 (A. E. Laiou). In this case it refers to the seventh part of the whole inheritance after Eustathios' father John. Since Eustathios was older than Niketas, who was born in 785, and is predicted to live 24 years, he seems to have died in 807, at the latest. His father John, Philaretos' son, is therefore likely to have died and his children become his heirs a few years earlier.

725 τῆς ψυχῆς σου.” Ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῷ παιδαρίῳ·  
 γέγονεν ἀμφοτεροδέξιον, καὶ ἐν καλῇ νεότητι ἀναστραφέν, ἅμα  
 τῷ πληρῶσαι αὐτὸν τὸν ὠρισμένον ὅρον διέδωκεν τὰ χρήματα  
 αὐτοῦ πάντα τοῖς πτωχοῖς, τὰ τε προάστια αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσατο ἐν  
 τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου τὸ ἐπιλεγό-  
 730 μενον τὰ Πραιποσίτου, καὶ μετανοήσας τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γνησίως ἐξ-  
 ομολογούμενος τὰ τῆς νεότητος ἀνδράσιν ἁγίοις τῷ εἰκοστῷ τε-  
 τάρτῳ ἔτει παρέδωκεν καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς κύριον τὸ πνεῦμα, ταφείς  
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου.

Εἷτα εἰσήνεγκαν τὸν τρίτον, Νικήταν, ὃν καὶ ἐδέξατο ἐν ταῖς  
 ἀγκάλαις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸν τῇ χειρὶ  
 735 (157) μετέστησε πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τὰ προσκέφαλα αὐτοῦ.  
 Ἐκέλευσε δὲ προσαχθῆναι τὸν τέταρτον. Εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὰ  
 ὅμοια τοῦ δευτέρου, αὐτοῦ τε τὸν χρόνον καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν διδασχὴν.  
 Ἐπληρώθη δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ ὅμοια· διδοὺς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ  
 πτωχοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μοναστηρίῳ τὰ προάστια, ἐξομο-  
 740 λογησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ χρόνου ἁγίῳ γέροντι καὶ τυχὼν  
 ἀφέσεως ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ταφείς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
 μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, τοσαύτῃ νεότητι, κάλλει καὶ  
 ἀνδρείᾳ περικείμενοι, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ μὴ συγγενειάζουσιν  
 αὐτοὺς θρῆνον μέγαν κόψασθαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 745 ἄνθη ἄφνω μαρανθῆναι.

Εἷτα κρατήσας τὸν τρίτον καὶ πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, τὸν  
 Νικήταν, καὶ ἄρας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν καὶ  
 ἐκλαυσαν ἀμφοτέροι, ὃ τε γέρων καὶ τὸ παιδίον. Καὶ ὑψώσας αὐτὸ  
 ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶπεν· “Δέσποτα  
 750 κύριε, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο, ὃ ἐγὼ καὶ  
 ζῶν ἐπεπόθησα πολλά καὶ ἀποθνήσκων ἀλγῶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. Ἀλλὰ  
 δέομαί σου, δέσποτα, χάρισαί μοι τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο, ἵνα  
 παραμείνῃ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ καὶ πλείονα βιώσῃ πάντων τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ, τηρῶν τὰς ἐντολάς σου καὶ  
 755 τὰ μαρτύριά σου ἐπιτελῶν τε τὰς λειτουργίας πάντων ἡμῶν τῶν  
 προκεκοιμημένων, τὰς μνείας ἡμῶν ποιούμενος. Καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ,  
 κύριε, τὴν χάριν ταύτην τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἧς ἔλαβον καὶ γὰρ παρὰ

731 hic resumit B. || 733-745 Hunc locum (εἷτα...μαρανθῆναι) multo brevius reddunt βV  
 || 736 τοῦτον G: τούτῳ corr. F-L || 743 συγγενειάζουσιν F-L: συγγενίζουσιν G loc.  
 om. βV || 744 τὸ scripsi: τοὺς G loc. om βV τοῦ con. F-L || 746 hunc locum (εἷτα...θε-  
 οτόκου = lin. 746-778) om. βV || 755 τε τὰς scripsi: τὰς τε G ||

years in this life. Fight therefore to save your soul." This is also what happened to this boy, for having become able to use both hands alike<sup>156</sup> and spent his youth well, as soon as he reached the predestined limit, he distributed all his money among the poor and donated his farms to the monastery of the holy great martyr George called Ta Praepositou<sup>157</sup>, and after a penance lasting one year, during which he sincerely confessed the sins of his youth to holy men, in his twenty-fourth year he likewise delivered his spirit to the Lord and was buried in the same monastery of holy George.

Then they brought in the third, Niketas, whom he had received in his arms at his baptism. Taking him by the hand he put him aside for a moment at his pillow while he ordered the fourth to be brought before him.<sup>158</sup> To him he said about the same as to the second, both how long he would live and what he should do. Similar predictions were fulfilled also in his case: he gave his goods to the poor and donated his estates to the same monastery, whereupon he also confessed to a holy monk before time was up. Having received absolution he passed away in peace and was buried in the same monastery of holy George. They were both characterized by such youth, beauty and manliness that even strangers and people unrelated to them bewailed and lamented them bitterly, seeing such blossoms suddenly wither.<sup>159</sup>

He then took the third, his spiritual son Niketas, lifted him up on his bed and kissed him, and both wept, the old man as well as the boy. And lifting him up towards the height of heaven with his own hands he said, "Master and Lord, in Thy hands I commit this boy, whom I loved dearly when I lived and for whom I grieve when I die. But I beg You, Lord, grant me this boy, that he may remain in this world and live longer than all his brothers and sisters<sup>160</sup> and his parents, keeping Thy commandments and Thy testimonies and performing the liturgy over us all who have predeceased, commemorating us. Grant him, Lord, this gift of mercifulness that I also re-

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Judges 3:15 and 20:16. In this context the expression probably means "fully developed in mind as well as body" or "in spiritual as well as secular matters". Cf. also the Life of St. Michael Maleinos ed. L. Petit in *ROC* 7 (1902), 551,11–12 *λοιδιμον δὲ τοῦτον καὶ περιφανῇ γεγονότα καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα περιδέξιον*, and the Life of St. Peter of Atroa ed. and tr. V. Laurent (Brussels, 1956), ch. 26,50 *τὸ τῆς θέας σου ὥραϊον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα περιδέξιον* "ton habilité dans les deux ordres d'affaires".

<sup>157</sup> This monastery is not known from other sources, although Auzépy, "De Philareté" 126f., suggests that it could be identical with a monastery dedicated to St George Sykeotes. See also Magdalino, "Paphlagonians" 149, note 43.

<sup>158</sup> The reason why John's fourth son is not mentioned by name may be that he was homonymous with Philaretos himself.

<sup>159</sup> The sudden transition from singular to plural (*ταφείς καὶ αὐτὸς...περικείμενοι*) and the inversion of the cases (*τοῖς...συγγενεῖάζουσιν αὐτοὺς* for *τοὺς...συγγενεῖάζοντας αὐτοῖς*) are embarrassing, but the sense seems clear.

<sup>160</sup> Evidently, all the brothers and sisters of Niketas were dead long before *VPh* was written.



σου, δέσποτα, καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν, πρῶτον μὲν  
 εἰς τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ φυλάττειν τὰς ἐντολάς σου,  
 760 καὶ λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἱστορήσῃ πάντα τὰ  
 πραχθέντα ἡμῖν εἰς μνημόσυνον ταῖς μελλούσαις γενεαῖς.  
 Ἀξίωσον αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ σχήματος  
 γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχώριστόν μου αὐτὸν ποιήσον, κύριέ μου, κύριε, εἰς  
 τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔδειξάς μοι κατοικεῖν.” Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐφίλει  
 765 αὐτὸν ὥς ποτε ὁ Ἰακώβ τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὥστε μὴ κατέρχεσθαι αὐτὸν  
 ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅπου  
 ἂν ἐπορεύετο, ἐβάσταζεν αὐτὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ.

Εἷτα παυσάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἤρξατο παρακαλεῖν τὴν  
 παναγίαν θεοτόκον· “Δέσποινα θεοτόκε, εἰς τὴν σκέπην σου  
 770 (159) ἀφίημι τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο· σκέπασον αὐτὸ ἀπὸ πάσης  
 ἐναντίας δυνάμεως καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς πειρασμοῦ καὶ κινδύνου.”  
 Παρακάλει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Θεόδωρον τὸν μάρτυρα λέγων· “Ἀγιέ  
 μου Θεόδωρε, ὑπέρμαχος γενοῦ τοῦ παιδίου τούτου, ὅτι εἰς τὴν  
 αἰσιέβαστον μνήμην σου ἐγεννήθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸν  
 775 ἅγιόν σου ναὸν αὐτὸ ἐφωτίσαμεν διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον, ἔνθα καὶ εἰς  
 τὰς ἀγκάλας μου αὐτὸ ἔδεξάμην ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σου ναοῦ, καὶ πάλιν  
 εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας σου αὐτὸ παρατίθῃμι ἅμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς  
 παναγίας θεοτόκου.”

Εἰσήμεγκαν δὲ καὶ τὰς δύο θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ, ὄνομα τῇ πρώτῃ  
 780 Ἑλένη καὶ ὄνομα τῇ δευτέρᾳ Εὐφημοῦ. Πρῶται δὲ αὗται ὑπῆρχον.  
 Λέγουσι δὲ πρὸς τὸν γέροντα· “Εὐλόγησον καὶ ἡμῖν, πάτερ.”  
 Εἶπεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτάς· “Εὐλογημένοι ὑμεῖς τῷ κυρίῳ, ἔσεσθε  
 γὰρ παρθελεύουσαι, μένουσαι ἀμίανται καὶ ἀσκανδάλισται  
 συνόμιλαι τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου. Καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ  
 785 ἀγωνισάμεναι κληρονομήσητε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.” Ὁ καὶ  
 γέγονεν· ἀποταξάμεναι γὰρ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τῆς παναγίας  
 θεοτόκου τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον ἐν τῇ Πέμπτου πόρτᾳ, ἀγωνισάμεναι

767 ἐπὶ addidi || 779 post praetermissionem resumunt βV, sed a G valde differunt ||  
 784 συνόμιλαι: συνόμιλοι corr. Dölger om. βV ||

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Eph. 6:19, often quoted by seemingly humble hagiographers.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. that St Basil the Younger twice predicts that his pupil Gregory, the author of his Vita, will write his Life, thus giving it legitimacy, see fol. fol. 116v–117, ed. Vilinskij 50,24–28, and fol. 355, ed. Vilinskij 329.

<sup>163</sup> I.e., the monastic garment, to be precise τὸ μέγα σχῆμα, cf. *VLucSteir*, ed. Sophianou: Luke first received the μικρόν σχῆμα (§ 17 τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν αὐτῷ περιβάλλει σχῆμα, τέως γοῦν τὸ τῶν εἰσαγομένων, ὁ καὶ μικρόν οἶδε καλεῖν ἢ συνήθεια), then τὸ ἀποστολικόν αὐτὸν καὶ μακάριον ἐνδύουσι σχῆμα (§ 28).

<sup>164</sup> Likewise St. Basil the Younger exhorts his pupil and hagiographer Gregory to become a monk, see fol. 359, ed. Vilinskij 332, and assures him that they will remain inseparable eternally, see fol. 359v, ed. Vilinskij 332.

<sup>165</sup> Gen. 37:3.

ceived from You, Master, and give him both wisdom and insight that he may first fear Your name and keep Your commandments, and then have utterance in opening his mouth<sup>161</sup> so that he can write down all that we have done for a memorial to future generations.<sup>162</sup> Make him also worthy of the holy and apostolic garment<sup>163</sup> and make him, my Lord, Lord, inseparable from me in the place where You have shown me to settle."<sup>164</sup> For so much did he love him, like Jacob once loved Joseph<sup>165</sup>, that Niketas did not go down from his knee when he was in his house, and wherever Philaretos went, he carried him in front of him on his horse.

Then having finished his prayer to God he began to invoke the all-holy Mother of God, saying, "Sovereign Lady, Mother of God, I commend this child to Your shelter: protect it from every hostile power and from every temptation and danger!" He also invoked the holy martyr Theodore, saying, "My holy Theodore, be the champion of this child, for he was born on your ever-august feast day<sup>166</sup> and therefore, because of our love of you, we also baptized him in your holy church, where I received him in my arms from your holy church,<sup>167</sup> and now I commit him into your arms again as well as into the arms of God and the all-holy Mother of God."

They also brought in John's two daughters, of whom the first was called Helen and the second Euphemou<sup>168</sup>. These were his first daughters.<sup>169</sup> They said to the venerable man, "Father, bless us too!" He answered them, "Blessed be you by the Lord, for you will lead a maiden life, remaining undefiled and unoffending companions of the holy Mother of God, and after a short period of struggle you too will inherit the kingdom of heaven." And so it happened, for having renounced the world in the monastery of the all-holy Mother of God called At the Gate of the Pempton,<sup>170</sup> and struggled the

<sup>166</sup> The author probably refers to St Theodore Teron, who came from the same area as Philaretos and whose feast day was 17 February. His double St Theodore Stratelates (feast day 7 February) does not appear in hagiographical literature until the end of the 9th century, see N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de S. Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia", *AB* 104 (1986) 327-35, esp. 329. One may therefore assume that Niketas was born on 17 February, either in 785 or, less likely, in 786, since he is said to have been about seven years old when Philaretos died in 792, apparently towards the end of the year; cf. *infra*, note 175.

<sup>167</sup> If one keeps the reading of G (ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σου ναοῦ), the meaning would probably be, if it is not just a lapse of the pen, that Philaretos received his adoptive child from the hands of St Theodore himself. In either case the repetition seems to be intended to emphasize Philaretos' attachment to St Theodore. According to Koukoules, *Bios* 4 (1951), 56 it was not unusual for grandfathers to become godfathers of their grandchildren.

<sup>168</sup> *Supra*, line 486 she is called Euphemia.

<sup>169</sup> John's youngest daughter Hypatia had died recently, see *infra*, lines 857-859.

<sup>170</sup> The Pempton was a district in the Thracian countryside five (*pente*) miles from the Milion, situated in the heart of Old Constantinople. The gate in the Theodosian wall leading to this area was situated north of the brook called Lykos, between the Romanos gate and the gate of Charisios, see Janin, *Constantinople*, 406.

βίον σεμνόν, νηστείαις τε καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ πάσῃ ἀσκήσει  
κεκοσμημένοι, δωδεκαετῇ χρόνον ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ ἐκοιμήθησαν αἱ  
790 δύο. Ἀρχὴ ἀγαθῆς ὁδοῦ γενόμεναι τὰς ἐκεῖσε παρθένοις  
κατηξιώθησαν τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ νυμφῶνι.

‘Ομοίως δὲ καθ’ ἓνα ἕκαστον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔγγονας  
εὐλόγησεν, καθ’ ὃ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐχορήγησεν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.  
Καὶ ἐπευξάμενος τὴν τε σύμβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὰς  
795 θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ, τούτου δὲ αὐτοὺς εὐλογοῦντα, ἔλαμψεν ἄφνω τὸ  
πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἤρξατο ὑπομειδιᾶν καὶ ψάλλειν.  
Ἔλεον καὶ κρίσιν ἄσομαί σοι κύριε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Καὶ  
πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ εὐωδία πολλή,  
ὥστε νομίζειν ἡμᾶς πλήρης ἀλειπτῶν καὶ ἀρωμάτων πληρωθῆναι  
800 τὸν οἶκον. Καὶ εἰθ’ οὕτως ἤρξατο τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον. Τελειώσας  
δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἤρξατο τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅτε ἤρξατο τὸν λόγον  
τοῦτον· Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ κυρίῳ.

(161) Ἦκουσε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ τούτου μήτηρ βασίλισσα  
καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνῃ αὐγούστα ὅτι ἀνεπαύσατο ὁ τούτων πάππος.  
805 Καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἅμα τῆς συγκλήτου πάσης ἐθρήνησαν αὐτὸν  
θρήνον μέγαν καὶ κηδεύσαντες τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον μετὰ  
πολλῆς δορυφορίας, διαδόντες καὶ χρήματα πάνυ πολλὰ τοῖς  
δεομένοις.

Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπερχομένου ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ πᾶν  
810 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πενήτων κλαίοντες μετὰ βρυγμοῦ μεγάλου.  
Ἐγκωμιάζοντες τῷ θεῷ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἔλεγον· “Οἱμοι, κύριε, διὰ  
τί ὑστέρησας τὸν τροφέα ὃν δέδωκας ἡμῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ; τίς  
ἐστὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐμπλῆσαι τὰς ἡμῶν γαστέρας καθάπερ οὗτος; τίς  
ἐνδύσει τὰ γυμνά σώματα ἡμῶν; τίς τοῖς χρεωφειλέταις ἡμῶν ἀντὶ  
815 ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει τὰ χρέη ἡμῶν; Ὅτι τοῦτο ἐποίησας, κρεῖττον ἦν  
ἵνα ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐθανάτωσας ἢ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ὑστέρησας  
ἡμῖν.”

Ἔτι αὐτῶν θρηνοῦντων εἷς τις τῶν πενήτων ὄνομα Καῦκος ἔχων  
πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἀπὸ γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ — καὶ πολλάκις καὶ εἰς

790 ἀρχὴ BXV: ἀρχῆς G loc. om. Y || 795 τούτου vel τοῦτου GP: τοῦτον F-L ||  
795 εὐλογοῦντα G: malim εὐλογοῦντος loc. om. bV || 814-815 ἀντὶ ἡμῖν G: om. BYV  
loc. om. X || 815 ἐτι...ἐποίησας: ὦ κύριε, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας ἡμῖν V sim. BX om. Y ||  
818 Καῦκος GB: Εὐάρετος V om. XY ||

<sup>171</sup> Note, however, that according to what follows Maria was not present.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Matt. 17:2.

<sup>173</sup> Ps. 100:1.

<sup>174</sup> Matt. 6:10.

struggle of a holy life adorned with fasts, vigils and all sorts of asceticism for twelve years the two of them died at the same time. Having become the beginning of a good way for their fellow-virgins they were deemed worthy of the heavenly bridechamber.

Likewise he blessed his other grandchildren<sup>171</sup> one by one according to what God supplied to his mouth. And he prayed for his wife and his son and his daughters, and as he blessed them, his face suddenly shone like the sun,<sup>172</sup> and he began to smile gently and sing, "I will sing to thee, O Lord, of mercy and judgment,"<sup>173</sup> and so forth. And when he had finished the psalm, there was such sweet smell in the house that we thought that it had become filled with ointments and spices. And then he began to say the holy creed. Having finished this too he began to say "Our Father," and when he began the word, "Thy will be done,"<sup>174</sup> he gave up his spirit to the Lord.<sup>175</sup>

### 10. Philaretos' burial

The emperor and his mother the empress and Philaretos' granddaughter the augusta heard that their grandfather had died. And they arrived with the whole senate and bewailed him under much lamentation and buried his precious remains, surrounding them with a great bodyguard and also distributing great sums of money among the needy.

As he was still on the way to his tomb he was followed by the whole crowd of the poor, weeping and wailing loudly. While praising God they cried out and said, "Alas, O Lord, why have you after a short time deprived us of the man whom you sent to feed us? Who will henceforth fill our stomachs like this man did? Who will clothe our naked bodies? Who will pay our debts to our creditors for us? Since you have done this,<sup>176</sup> it would have been better if you had killed us all instead of depriving us of this man."

While they were still weeping, a certain man among the poor called Kaukos<sup>177</sup> who had been possessed by an unclean spirit since he was born

<sup>175</sup> If we assume that Philaretos died more or less exactly four years after Maria was married to Constantine in November 788, he died in late 792. *SynaxCP* specifies that he died on 1 December and the MS V that he was buried on 2 December, which fits this chronology but, with the exception of V, is only supported by late MSS; the date appearing in *SynaxCP* is evidently calculated on what is said in V. β adds that Philaretos was ninety years old when he died but still in the bloom of youth. This was certainly not in the original version.

<sup>176</sup> Fourmy-Leroy understand *ὅτι τοῦτο ἐποίησας* as a question; translating "Pourquoi as-Tu fait cela?" This gives better sense but is hardly what the Greek says. Cf. Gen. 3:18.

<sup>177</sup> Constantelos, "Classical Heritage," 101, assumes that Kaukos was named after Kaukon, the mythical founder of the city of Lepanone in the Peloponnese.

820 πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλε καὶ εἰς ποταμόν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀπεδήμει ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἱκανάς, ἐσύχναζε δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ γέροντι, ἔτι αὐτοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ πολλὰς ἀρετὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκομίσαστο, ἡγάπα γὰρ αὐτὸν πάνυ —, ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐξοδίῳ δαιμονιζομένου, τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ παρακρατούντων αὐτὸν διὰ  
825 τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ῥόγαν, κλαίων ἅμα καὶ ὑλάττων, ἀναπηδήσας ἄφνω κατέσχε τὴν κλίνην καὶ ἅμα τοῦ κρατῆσαι αὐτὴν παραχοῆμα ἐξῆλθε τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ γέγονεν ὑγιὴς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι. Καὶ κρατήσας τὸν πόδα τῆς κλίνης ἐβάσταζε τὸν αὐτὸν γέροντα ἕως τοῦ μνημείου. Καὶ θεασάμενοι  
830 πάντες τὸ γεγονός ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεόν. Φθασάντων δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ψαλμωδίαις τε καὶ ὕμνοις τιμήσαντες κατέθεντο τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῷ λάρνακι.

Ὁ δὲ τούτου ἕγγων καὶ πνευματικὸς υἱὸς Νικήτας ὁ λαβὼν τὰς  
πολλὰς εὐλογίας παρὰ τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ, μικρὸς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ  
835 ὑπάρχων ὡς ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ, εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν καθεύδων ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκστάσει καὶ ἡρπάγη εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖθεν κόσμον καὶ εἶδε τὰς τε κολάσεις καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν πύρινον βαθὺν πάνυ (163) κοχλάζοντα, ὥστε μὴ ὑπομένειν τὸν βρυγμὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει, καὶ πέραθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ παράδεισον  
840 τερπνὸν καὶ δένδρα παντοδαπά καὶ ὥραϊα παμμεγέθη πολλὰ, οἷά ποτε φύσις ἀνθρώπου οὐκ εἶδεν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἄ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. Εἶδεν δὲ ὡς φύσις ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν ἡδύνατο, εἶδεν γὰρ ῥόας  
845 ἐγκάρπους καὶ μεγάλους, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν πολὺς καὶ μέγας, ὅμοια σκυφιδίων χωρούντων οἴνου διακοσίας λίτρας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀμπέλους ἀναδενδράδας πάνυ εὐκοσμίους ἔχοντας τοὺς βότρυας αὐτῶν παμμεγέθεις ὡς ἡλικία ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φοίνικας παμμεγέθεις καὶ καρύας, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τῶν καρύων  
850 ὅμοιος πίθου, ἀνὰ μέτρων δώδεκα χωρούντων, καὶ πᾶν εἶδος καρποῦ ὀρίμου ἐκεῖ ἐθεάσατο.

824 δαιμονιζομένου corr. F-L: δαιμονιζομένῳ G al. BYV loc. om. X || 824 παρακρατούντων αὐτόν corr. F-L: π. αὐτῷ G || 833 hinc usque ad doxologiam om. Y || 841 εἶδεν XV: οἶδεν GB || 842 εἶδεν: οἶδε G loc. om. βV || 846 σκυφιδίων corr. F-L: σιφιδίων G om. βV || 848 παμμεγέθεις scripsi: παμμεγεθῆς G μεγίστους βV || 849 καρύας corr. F-L: καρέας G loc. om. βV || 850 ἀνὰ μέτρων Dölger: ἀναμετρῶν G loc. om. βV || 850 χωρούντων corr. F-L: -όντων G loc. om. βV ||

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Mark 9:22.

<sup>179</sup> Presumably compassion in particular.

— it often threw him into a fire or into a river,<sup>178</sup> but often also left him for several days, and while the holy old man still lived he frequently came to him, receiving from him many proofs of his virtues,<sup>179</sup> for he loved him much —, while the man, being possessed, followed the funeral procession, his relatives holding him so that he might receive alms, he suddenly jumped up, crying and howling, and caught hold of the bier, and at the moment he got hold of it the unclean spirit came out of him at once and he was cured by the grace of God. And holding the leg of the bier he carried the old man all the way to his tomb. And everyone saw what happened and praised God. When they had arrived at the tomb they laid down his holy body in the sarcophagus, honouring it with psalms and hymns.<sup>180</sup>

### 11. Niketas' dream

On the third day, when his grandchild and spiritual son Niketas who had received all the many blessings from his grandfather, being a small boy of about seven, lay sleeping on his bed, he fell into a trance during which he was caught<sup>181</sup> up to the other world and saw both the punishments and the fiery river, which was very deep and boiling so that the nature of man could not endure its roaring, and on the other side of the river a delightful garden and trees of every kind, beautiful, huge and in great number of a kind that a human being never saw according to what is written, "What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him".<sup>182</sup> But he saw as far as the nature of man was able to see, for he saw big pomegranate-trees full of fruit, and their fruit was numerous and big, like cups holding two hundred litres of wine<sup>183</sup>, similarly very splendid vines of the kind that grows up trees with grapes as big as the size of a tall man, and likewise huge date-palms and hazel-nut trees, and the fruit of the hazel-nut trees was like wine-jars holding twelve measures each,<sup>184</sup> and he saw there every kind of ripe fruit.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>180</sup> As mentioned *supra*, note 175, V says that the burial took place on 2 December. Then βV add the following: Ἀὕτη ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς Φιλαρέτου τοῦ ἐλεήμονος· οὗτος ὁ βίος τοῦ φιλοκτίριμονος καὶ χριστομιμήτου ἀνδρός, δι' οὗ εὐάρεστος γενόμενος τῷ Χριστῷ ἐδοξάσθη κατὰ τὸν τῆδε βίον καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τῆς αἰδίου βασιλείας κατηξιώθη (quoted from V). This corresponds to the prologue appearing in the same version, both additions serving the purpose of making *VPh* conform to hagiographical convention.

<sup>181</sup> ἡρπάγη: 2 Co. 12:2 and 4.

<sup>182</sup> 1 Co. 2:9.

<sup>183</sup> There were about three λίτραι to a modern litre (Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 95).

<sup>184</sup> I.e., jars holding about 120 litres of wine each, cf. Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 112f.

<sup>185</sup> This wonderful garden with its supernatural fruit was probably planted by Philaretos with his own good deeds, cf. *VBaslun*, ed. Veselovskij 47 τὸν γὰρ παράδεισον τοῦτον, ὃν ὁρᾷς, ἐξεργάσατό τε καὶ προσέξενησεν εἰς ἡμῶν τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνάπαυσιν τε καὶ κατάπαυσιν...

Καὶ ἴσταντο ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παιδιά, πάντες  
 λευχειμονοῦντες, καὶ ἥσθιον ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ εὐφραίνοντο.  
 Ἐθεάσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ  
 855 καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσοῦ πεποικιλμένου διὰ λίθου τιμίου  
 καὶ σμαράγδου, ἐνδεδυμένον καὶ αὐτὸν στολὴν λευκὴν, καὶ νήπια  
 πολλὰ νεόφωτα ἐστῶτα κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ κρατοῦντες λαμπάδας. Καὶ  
 ἓνα νήπιον νεόφωτον, ἀδελφὴ τοῦ τεθεαμένου τὸ ὄναρ, ὃ πρὸ  
 μικροῦ χρόνου ἐκοιμήθη, ἐκαθέζετο ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ  
 860 γέροντος, κρατῶν καὶ αὐτὸ λαμπάδα. Παρίστατο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ  
 ἕτερον τάγμα μέγα τῶν πενήτων λευχειμονούντων. Ἐκαστος  
 ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ ἀπῆλαυνον καὶ ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἡγωνιῶντο τίς  
 πρῶτος πλησιάσει τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἐλεήμονος. Εἶδεν δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα  
 ἐστῶτα λαμπρὸν τῇ ιδέᾳ, ὅλος γὰρ ὡς πῦρ ὑπῆρχεν, κατέχων  
 865 ῥάβδον χρυσῇ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Ἠρώτησε δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ  
 τεθεαμένον τὸ ὄναρ· “Κύριε, τίς ἐστίν ὁ γέρων ἐκεῖνος ὁ  
 καθεζόμενος ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ χρυσῷ; ἤθελον ἀγῶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκεῖ.”  
 Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν· “Ὁ Ἀβραάμ ἐστίν.” Εἶπεν δὲ τὸ παιδίον·  
 “Οὐχί, κύριε, ἀλλ’ ὁ πάππος μού ἐστίν.” Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ  
 870 νεανίσκος εἶπεν· “Ὁ πάππος σου ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ Ἀβραάμ γέγονεν  
 ἀρτίως.”

Ἠρξάτο δὲ ὁ πρέσβυς κράζειν τὸ παιδίον· “Τέκνον μου, ἐλθέ  
 καὶ σὺ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀπόλαυε τῶν ἀγαθῶν τούτων.” Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ  
 (165) τὸ παιδίον εἶπεν· “Πάτερ, οὐ δύναμαι, ὅτι στενὴ ἐστίν ἡ  
 875 γέφυρα ὡς τρίχα ὑπάρχουσα καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς βαθὺς καὶ πύρινος.  
 Ὅρῳ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πληθὺς γυμνῶν ἀνθρώπων κολαζομένων  
 βρύχοντας τοὺς ὀδόντας, καὶ πτοοῦμαι μὴ ἐμπέσω ἀγῶ καὶ  
 κολάζομαι σὺν αὐτοῖς.” Ἐφη δὲ πρὸς τὸ παιδίον· “Ἐλθέ μόνον,  
 μὴ πτοοῦ, ἡμεῖς γὰρ πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐπεράσαμεν· δοκίμασον μόνον  
 880 ἀγῶ σοι βοηθῶ.” Καὶ ἐκτείνας ὁ γέρων τὴν χεῖρα προσεκαλεῖτο  
 τὸ παιδίον, ὁ δὲ ἀποτολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν ἐπάνω τῆς τριχὸς καὶ  
 ἦρξάτο τοῦ περνᾶν. Σκελιζόμενος καὶ πτοούμενος, τοῦ γέροντος  
 αὐτὸν προσβοηθοῦντος, ἐπέρασεν ἐκεῖθεν.

Καὶ ἅμα τοῦ περάσαι αὐτὸν ἐγένετο ἔξυπνος· ἐσάλευσεν γὰρ  
 885 αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, ἀκούσασα τὰς φωνὰς αὐτοῦ φανερώς καὶ  
 τοὺς στεναγμοὺς διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ πυρός. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν·  
 “Τί σοι ἔστι, τέκνον μου, ἵνα τί κλαίεις καὶ στεναάζεις;” Ὁ δὲ

853 λευχειμονοῦντες βV: λευχημονοῦντες G || 857 κρατῶντες G || 858 ἓνα: ἐν com.  
 F-L loc. om βV || 861 λευχειμονούντων βV: λευσημονούντων G loc. om. X ||  
 863 πλησιάσει βV: πλησιάση G || 864 ὅλος Dölger: ὅλος G loc. om. βV || 872 aut  
 πρὸς addendum aut τὸ παιδίον = τῷ παιδίῳ || 875 ὁ addidi, βV secutus: om. G ||

Men and women and children, all dressed in white, stood eating from the fruit, rejoicing. He also saw his grandfather sitting in the midst of the trees on a golden throne inlaid with precious stones and emerald, he too dressed in a white robe, and many newly baptized<sup>186</sup> little children standing around him holding lamps.<sup>187</sup> And one little newly baptized child, sister of him who had the dream who had died a short time before, sat in the old man's bosom<sup>188</sup>, she too holding a lamp.<sup>189</sup> Beside him there also stood another great host of poor dressed in white. Each one enjoyed many good things, and jostling each other they competed to be first to approach the throne of the merciful man. He also saw a man with a shining appearance — he was altogether like fire — holding a golden staff in his hand. The child who had the dream asked, "Sir, who is this old man sitting on the golden throne? I would like to go there too." He answered, "It is Abraham." The child said, "No, Sir, it is my grandfather!" The young man said, "Yes, it is your grandfather, but now he has become Abraham."<sup>190</sup>

The old man began to call out to the child, "My son, come here you too and enjoy these good things!" The child answered, "Father, I can't, for the bridge is as narrow as a hair and the river is deep and fiery."<sup>191</sup> And I see in it a multitude of naked people being punished, gnashing their teeth, and I am terrified that I too shall fall into it and be punished together with them." But he said to the child, "Just come along, do not be scared, for we have all crossed it! Just try, I shall help you." And stretching out his hand the old man called the child to himself, and he took heart and went out on the hair and began to cross over. Tottering and terrified but assisted by the old man he crossed over to the other side.

As soon as he had crossed over he woke up, for his mother shook him when she clearly heard him crying and groaning because of his fear of the fire. She said to him, "My child, what is the matter with you, why are you weeping and groaning?" He told her of his vision, adding, "Why did you

<sup>186</sup> The form νεόφωτος here and line 858 is not found in the dictionaries. It may be just a scribal error for the usual νεοφώτιστος (sic β), or perhaps a mixture of νεοφώτιστος and νεόφυτος, cf. next note.

<sup>187</sup> For νήπια...λαμπάδας cf. the Life of Andrew the Fool ed. Rydén, lines 3402–3 (at the time of the liturgy) θεάσασθαι ἔχεις κύκλῳ τῆς τραπέζης τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐστῶτας ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν ἐν ἀμπελῶνι, τοὺς νεοφωτίστους λέγω..., which alludes to Ps. 127:3 οἱ υἱοὶ σου ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν κύκλῳ τῆς τραπέζης σου.

<sup>188</sup> Like Lazaros in Abraham's bosom, cf. Luke 16:23.

<sup>189</sup> According to the family tree, *supra*, line 486, her name was Hypatia. As she was newly baptized, she was probably born after 788.

<sup>190</sup> Note that Philaretos, who began as a new Job, ends up a new Abraham.

<sup>191</sup> For the bridge of hair, see Introduction under "Niketas' dream", at the end.



ἀφηγήσατο τὴν ὁπτασίαν καὶ λέγων· “Ἰνα τί με ἐξύπνισας;  
 890 ἤθελον γὰρ συνεῖναι μετὰ τοῦ τατά μου καὶ πάππου μου· οὐ  
 δύναμαι γὰρ ὑπομεῖναι τὸ γλυκὺ φῶς καὶ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς ἃς  
 ἐώρακα ἐκεῖ, λογιζόμενος ὅτι ὧδε ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ διάγομεν.”

Ταῦτα ἐγὼ θεασάμενος, Νικήτας ὁ ἔγγονος καὶ υἱὸς  
 πνευματικὸς τοῦ ἀγίου μου πάππου, ἔτη δέκα διατρίψας ἐν τῷ  
 οἴκῳ μου, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πάππου μου κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ἐν τῇ  
 895 καρδίᾳ μου καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐργαζόμενος, χρόνων ὧν ὀκτώ καὶ  
 δέκα γενόμενος, ἀπέδρασα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου καὶ ἐγενόμην  
 μοναχός. Μετὰ δὲ εἴκοσι χρόνους τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποταγῆς, ἀκριβῶς  
 ἐρευνήσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῦ πάππου μου καὶ τὴν καλὴν ἀναστροφὴν  
 αὐτοῦ ἃ μὲν αὐτόπτης ἐγενόμην, ἃ δὲ ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν ἐμῶν  
 900 γονέων μεθ’ ὁρκων διηγουμένων, ἃ δὲ παρὰ τῶν πενήτων  
 πληροφορηθεὶς συνεγραψάμην τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἔτους στλ’ ἐν  
 ἐξορίᾳ ὧν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐν Καριουπόλει. Γένοιτο δὲ πάντα  
 ἡμᾶς καταξιωθῆναι τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ συνδοξασθῆναι αὐτῷ.

Ἡ δὲ θεοσεβὴς σύμβιος αὐτοῦ λαβοῦσα χρήματα ἱκανὰ  
 905 ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα. Κάκεισε πάντα τοὺς ἀγίους  
 ναοὺς τοὺς πάλαι πεπτωκότας ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀνοικοδομήσασα  
 καὶ ἱερὰ πολύτιμα χαρισισμένη αὐτοῖς, καταστήσασα μοναστήρια  
 καὶ πτωχεῖα, (167) ὑπέστρεψεν πάλιν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ  
 910 καλῶς τὸν βίον αὐτῆς τελέσασα ἐκοιμήθη καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν εἰρήνῃ,  
 ταφεῖσα μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ

890 γλυκὺ corr. Dölger: γλυκὴν G ||

<sup>192</sup> Usually, ὑπομεῖναι means ‘endure’. One has the impression that the author wants to say that, having seen the sweet light of Paradise, he cannot endure the darkness of this world.

<sup>193</sup> For the pleonasm ὧν...γενόμενος, cf. *supra*, line 68f. σὺν τῷ ἀρότρῳ λαβών.

<sup>194</sup> The phrase ἀπέδρασα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου indicates that Niketas’ parents disapproved of his decision to become a monk. If this is so, they were still alive in 802. Conflicts between parents and sons who wanted to take the vows were frequent in Byzantium, see Talbot, ed., *Defenders*, 156, note 61 and cf. A.-M. Talbot in *DOP* 44 (1990), 119–20 and 126–27. Auzépy, “De Philarète” 122 finds it remarkable that Niketas fails to mention which monastery he entered. The reason is perhaps that he entered a monastery that in the time of Michael II was regarded as compromised.

<sup>195</sup> The year 6330 according to the Byzantine era lasted from September, AD 821 to August, AD 822. However, something seems to be wrong here, see Introduction under “The author and his purpose”.

wake me up? I wanted to be with my daddy and grandfather, for I cannot wait for the sweet light and gleaming that I saw there, considering that here we live in darkness."<sup>192</sup>

## 12. Epilogue

After this vision I, Niketas, grandson and spiritual son of my holy grandfather, remained at home for ten years, keeping the commandments of my grandfather in mind in my heart and doing them according to my ability. But when I was eighteen years old,<sup>193</sup> I ran away from home and became a monk.<sup>194</sup> Twenty years after I renounced the world, in the year 6330<sup>195</sup> while in exile at Karyoupolis in the Peloponnesos,<sup>196</sup> having carefully explored the virtues of my grandfather and his good mode of life, I have written his Life, using partly what I have seen with my own eyes, partly what I have heard from my parents who told me under oath, and partly information that I have received from the poor.<sup>197</sup> May it come to pass that we all become worthy of his virtues and be glorified with him.<sup>198</sup>

His God-fearing wife took a considerable sum of money and returned to her home village, where she restored all the holy churches that had long ago been ruined by the Persians,<sup>199</sup> bestowing on them very costly holy equipment, and founded monasteries and alms-houses, whereupon she returned to Constantinople, and having finished her life in a good way, she too passed away in peace and was buried with her husband,<sup>200</sup> for the glory

<sup>196</sup> Karyoupolis was situated on the Mani, the middle of the three southern peninsulas of the Peloponnesos. On its history in the Middle Byzantine period, see Etzeoglu, "Karyoupolis" 90–95. When and for what reason Niketas had been exiled, and why he was exiled to this particular place, is anybody's guess. Etzeoglu, loc. cit., suggests that Niketas belonged to those who, at the beginning of the 9th century, were transferred from Anatolia to the Peloponnesos to strengthen the Hellenic presence as against the Slavic immigrants. As Etzeoglu points out, *VPh* is the first literary source for the history of Karyoupolis.

<sup>197</sup> Note that Niketas' parents must have died long ago. Furthermore, as he lived in exile he is unlikely to have returned to Amnia to interview the poor whom Philaretos had helped. The whole sentence, therefore, looks like a hagiographical topos.

<sup>198</sup> This whole paragraph is missing in β.

<sup>199</sup> By τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα Niketas probably means Amnia and its surroundings rather than Theosebo's original home town (if this was different from Amnia). Since, as Ludwig, *Sonderformen* 154f. observes, elsewhere in the Vita the Arabs are called Ishmaelites (lines 46 and 219), "Persians" seems to refer to the Persians of the early 7th century rather than to the Arabs, although in contemporary literature "Persians" often stands for "Arabs", and Gangra, the metropolis of Amnia, was taken by the Arabs in 712 as well as in 727, perhaps even in 732, see Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honorias* 196.

<sup>200</sup> Note the contrast between the aristocratic widow described here and the sarcastic housewife described in the first half of the Vita. However, Theosebo's building activity could be understood as an act of piety in memory of her husband, and perhaps also as an act of gratitude towards the villagers for their support when the imperial envoys arrived in Amnia, looking for a bride for Constantine VI.

Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ πατρὶ [καὶ τῷ υἱῷ] καὶ  
τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς  
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

911 καὶ τῷ υἱῷ seclusi, cod. V secutus al. β || post ἀμήν add. χρη γινώσκειν ὅτι ὁ βίος  
τοῦτος (sic) ἀναγινώσκεται τὸν Φεβρουάριον μῆναν· εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀποκρέου  
GP, post quod etiam add. ὑπόμνημα διαλαμβάνον μερικῶς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ ἄθλα καὶ  
ἀποδημίας καὶ τελείωσιν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύ-  
λου Y ||

of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the dominion with the Father and the All-Holy and Life-giving Spirit, now and forever and unto the ages of ages.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> After 'the Father' G adds 'and the Son', which is such a glaring pleonasm that it can hardly be ascribed to the author himself. — After the end of the Vita G remarks that *VPh* is read in February, during the carnival week, although in the *SynaxCP* (the summary is based on V) Philaretos is commemorated on 1 December.



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<sup>1</sup> For deviations from traditional grammar comparable to those registered here, see P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP*. (Brussels, 1970), 224-244 under 'Grammatical Notes'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *VAntlun*, ed. Halkin 219,9 ἄλλο Συρίαν οὐ βλέπει 'never again'.

day' 773-74; εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν 'on the third day' 835; εἰς τὸν ἕνα βῶν ἀπολάβωμεν ἑκατόν 173; ἐπληρώθη εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ ὅμοια 738; ἵνα μὴ ἐντραπῶμεν εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνδρας 404

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κατὰ with gen. one instance (219 'against'), with acc. thirteen instances. Note:

κατὰ μέρος 'piecemeal' 208; καθ' ἓν 'in detail' 685

μέ with acc. twice: μέ τὰ παῖδια 338; μέ τὰς τρεῖς θυγατέρας 505. The fact that in the sense 'with' μετά is always followed by the genitive supports the impression that μέ is not just an error for μετά

μετά fifty-six instances, six with acc. ('after'), forty-nine with gen. ('with'). In the sense 'together with' μετά appears nineteen times. Expressions like μετὰ χαρᾶς, μετ' ὀργῆς are particularly common (twenty-four instances). Note βασιτάξαι με μετὰ θρόνου χρυσοῦ 671

παρὰ twenty instances: sixteen with gen., four with acc., none with dat. Note παρὰ μίαν 'aside' 341; δεξάμενος παρὰ τὸν σιτοφόρον 336 (si v.l.)

πάρεξ one instance: πάρεξ τὸ ὑπατίκιν 'except' 640

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πλησίον one instance: πλ. τοῦ παλατίου 527

πρὸ two instances, both with gen.: πρὸ μικροῦ χρόνου 858-59, πρὸ χρόνου 'before time was up' 740

πρὸς sixty-eight instances: with dat. 513 (ἀπέλυσε πρέσβεις...πρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ), with acc. in all other cases. Note: τέως πρὸς ὥραν 'just for a moment' 232; πρὸς ὀλίγον 735, πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον 681-82; πρὸς ἕνα 'one each' 293; τὰ πρὸς θεόν 'his prayer to God' 768; πρὸς βασιλέαν οὐ ποιεῖς 'for an emperor you will not do' 500f.

σύν with dat. thirteen instances. Note the change of case when σύν is followed by more than one noun: σύν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ γέροντι καὶ παντός τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ 471-72; σύν τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκλητον 532-33

ὕπερ two instances, both with acc.: 'more than' 76, 462

ὑπό six instances, four of them indicating agent. Note: ὑπό ἐπιτροπῆς 'by order' 392; ὑπό τῆς πόλεως Γαγγρῶν τελοῦσα 'belonging to the jurisdiction of Gangra' 385

χάριν three times in the expression τοῦτου χάριν (154, 184, 216)

χωρίς one instance: χωρίς θεοῦ 39f.

### The verb

Augment omitted: αἰτεῖτο 22; ἐπιμελεῖτο 159; ἐργασάμην 182; ἀνέσχου 261  
Endings: ἐξηνιάσθην for -η 135; ἐπορεύθην for -η 286 (in these two cases -ν may stand for *nu ephelkustikon*); θλίβεσαι 173; βούλεσαι 235; ἐπιδέεσαι 296

Activum for medium: εὐξάτω for εὐξάσθω 434 app. crit.

Tense: δέδωκε for ἔδωκε 144, 146, 240 etc.; ὀλιγορήσας ἤμην 133; ποιήσκειν for ποιεῖν 37; ἐξαργεῖν ἔχει for ἐξαργήσει 190; πέμψαι ἔχει 409; δώσειν αὐτῷ εἶχα = ἔδωκα 302, 308

Participle: φέρας = φέρων 187; εἰδώς = ἰδών 199; ὥστε μὴ ἀνεχόμενος ἀκοῦσαι (part. for inf.) 643-44; aor. for pres. participle 334, 683-84 etc.; δώσαντες 501, 503; lack of concord: τοῦτου δὲ αὐτοὺς εὐλογοῦντα 795, πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πενήτων κλαίοντες 810, πλῆθος γυμνῶν ἀνθρώπων...βρούχοντας 876-77

Infinitive: τίς ἔστι τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐμπλῆσαι 812-13; εἰς τὸ φοβεῖσθαι 759 (also in the New Testament), cf. ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναστῆσαι, 714 πρὸς τὸ προπέμψαι 307, πρὸς τὸ ζεῦξαι 380 (also in the New Testament)

### Conditional sentences

Modus irrealis is correctly used at 93-94 and 281-82, but at 302 and 308 it is expressed like this: ἐγὼ ἐὰν ἤμην, δώσειν αὐτῷ εἶχα

Iterative and future conditions: καθ' ὃ ἂν τις χρεῖαν ἔχει, οὕτως καὶ παρέχει αὐτῷ 615-16; ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ἀπαθής...πλοῦτος φαίνεται, ἐὰν...καλῶς τούτῳ χρῶσμεθα καὶ ἐὰν ἀπόντος ἀλύπως τοῦτο ἐνέγκωμεν 63-66; θλίβεσαι ἐὰν εἰς τὸν ἕνα βοῦν ἀπολάβωμεν ἑκατὸν 173, ἐὰν ζήσετε ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνετε, ἐπαρκέσει ὑμῖν 201f.

Past conditions: εἴ τι ἂν αἰτεῖτο, ἐδίδου αὐτῷ...εἴ τι ἂν ἐπεθύμει 22-23; ἐλάμβανεν ἕκαστος εἴ τι ἂν χρεῖαν εἶχεν 30-31; ἕκαστος...οἶον ἂν ἤθελεν 32; ὅπου ἂν εἰσῆλθε (εἰσέλθη G) εἰς οἶκόν τινος τοῦτον ἐπλούτισεν...ἡ εὐλογία σου 252-53; διαδοὺς...τὰ τε ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ εἴ τι ἂν εἶχεν 660-62

### Conjunctions

ἵνα: ἵνα μὴ καταλύσουσιν 393; ἵνα τί κλαίεις 887; ἵνα τί με ἐξύπνισας 888; πάντα ἵνα εὖρα εὐτρεπισμένα 534; ὅτι τοῦτο ἐποίησας, κρεῖττον ἦν ἵνα ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐθανάτωσας 815-16

ὅτι: τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ θαυμαστός, ὅτι...ἐπιμελεῖτο 158-59; ὅτι τῷ λιμῷ οὐ μὴ διαφθαρῶμεν 198; ὅτι ἐὰν 'so that if' 201; ὅτι τοῦτο ἐποίησας, κρεῖττον ἦν...815

ὥστε: with inf. 257; with part. 643f.

ὅπως: ὅπως ἴδωμεν αὐτά...καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν 567-68; ὅπως ἰσχύσω ἀπελθεῖν τοῖς ποσίν μου 'as fast as my legs can carry me' 237

ὅπου: δὸς αὐτὸ ὅπου θέλεις 294  
 ἕως: ἕως τότε οὐκ ἐκβάλλεις...; 347–48

### Case

Genitive for dative: διηγῆσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βοός 116<sup>3</sup>; παρεῖχεν τοῦ ἀγίου γέροντος χρήματα πολλά 603–604; τῶν ἀδυνάτων συμβοηθεῖν 111; ἔστι τῆς θυγατρὸς μου...θυγατέρες τρεῖς 443–44; ὁμοία αὐτῆς 436, similarly 846, 850; ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναστῆσαι κύριον τὸν θεὸν σπέρμα αὐτοῦ for αὐτῷ 714

Genitive for accusative: αἰδεσθεῖς τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντολῶν 74–75; (cf. αἰδεσθεῖς ἐπὶ 521); αὐτοῦ (i.e. τὸν ποταμόν) ἐπεράσαμεν 879; τὸ τζαγκίον καταμετρήσαντες τοῦ ποδός 'measuring her foot by the shoe' 470

Genitivus temporis: ἔτους εἴς 901

Dative for nominative: τοῖς μὲν... τοῖς δὲ 617–18

Dative for genitive: παυσάμενου τῷ ἀποδιδόναι 44; τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι 111–12 (with acc. 492); κρατήσας αὐτὸν τῇ χειρὶ 'taking him by the hand' 734; κατηξιώθησαν τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ νυμφῶνι 791

Dative for accusative: ὑστέρησάς μοι καὶ αὐτό 86–87; τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ὑστέρησας ἡμῖν 816–17; ἡσπάσατο τῇ γυναικί 263–64; ἐκέλευσαν ἡμῖν 446; καὶ μοι ἔχει ἐπιλέξασθαι 495–96; εὐλόγησον καὶ ἡμῖν 781; ἵνα μὴ διαλάβῃ ἡμῖν 446–47; ταύταις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς συνεκίρνα τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ 160–61 ἣν γὰρ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ τὸν Σαοὺλ 426; καλὴ τῷ εἶδει 435, 493; καλὸς τῷ εἶδει 511; τῇ ἰδέᾳ ὅμοια 611; μικρὸς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ 834 (the same kind of dative is also common in the New Testament); ἀπέλυσε...πρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ 511–13

Accusative for genitive: ὑστέρησάς μοι καὶ αὐτό 86–87; τὴν...τροφὴν ὑστέρησεν αὐτοὺς 359–60; τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ὑστέρησας ἡμῖν 816–17; διὰ τί ὑστέρησας (scil. ἡμᾶς) τὸν τροφέα 811–12; ἐπιλαθόμενος...τὸν θάνατον 96, similarly 102, 194, 549–50, 620–21; ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τὰς ἄλλας 492 (with gen. 73, with dat. 111–12); παυσάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν 768 (with gen. 710); ἀναμνησθέντες τοὺς λόγους 574; ἤρξατο τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον...ἤρξατο τὸ πάτερ ἡμῶν...ἤρξατο τὸν λόγον τοῦτον 800–801; ζῶν αἰώνιον κληρονόμους ποιῆσαι 172–73; τὴν ἐμὴν μοῖραν...ταῦτα τὰ βασιλικά ἔργα (for τούτων τῶν β. ἔργων) 592–93; ἕως δυσμᾶς 380

Accusative for dative: ἐκονταπλασίονα ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι τοὺς...διάδοντας 171–72, similarly 188, 292–94, 301, 501, 503, 523, 570–71; καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς φυλάξω αὐτὸν ἄσχητον 689–90; ἐπευχόμενος τὸν γέροντα 244–45 (similarly 794, but with dat. 583); ἐπευλόγησεν αὐτήν 317; ὑπήντησε τοὺς βασιλικούς 398 (with dat. 460); εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὰ ὅμοια 736–37; συγγενειάζουσιν αὐτούς 743f.; οὓς ἔχετε πιστεύειν τὰ χρήματα 695; πλησιάσει τὸν θρόνον 863; ἐφόρτωσε τέσσαρας ἡμιόνους τεσσαράκοντα μόδια σίτου 332–33; καταμετροῦσι τὸ μέτρον τὸ βασιλικόν, with the imperial measure' 467–68; τὸ τζαγκίον καταμετρήσαντες 'measuring by the shoe' 470

Acusative expressing cause: τοῦτο καὶ ὁ θεὸς λυπηθήσεται ἐν ἐμοί 'for this reason' 267

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vanthum* ed. Halkin 219,3 δείκνυσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα.

*Concord*

- ἐξάκουστον δὲ ἐγένετο...ἡ τούτου ἐλεημοσύνη 26-27  
 ἔστι τῆς θυγατρὸς μου...θυγατέρες τρεῖς 442-43  
 πάντας πανοικεῖ...τὴν συγγένειαν 518-19  
 τῷ μοναστηρίῳ...τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον 786-87  
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*Same Sense, Changing Form or Preposition*

- εἴτε γὰρ διὰ χειμῶνος εἴτε δι' ἀσθενείας εἴτε ἀπὸ αἰχμαλωσίας 206-207  
 δὸς ἐμοί...καὶ τὰ παιδία...καὶ τὴν νύμφην...καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην... 292-94  
 σὺν τῇ μητρὶ...καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου 471-72  
 ἐπὶ τῇ καταστολῇ...ἐπὶ τε τὸ εὐσχημον βῆμα 507-508  
 σὺν τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκλητον 533  
 προσιόντος μου πολλάκις καὶ δοκιμάσας 209-210

*Loose Syntax*

- εἶθε μὴ ἐπτῶχευσας..., ἐπορεύθην ἄν 93-94  
 εἰς τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν...μὴ ἐκπορῶν ἄλλο τι εἰ μὴ ἓνα ἵππον...,  
 στροφωθεὶς ὁ ἵππος αὐτοῦ...κατέπεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπέθανεν 223-27  
 καθίσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης εἰσῆλθε καὶ ὁ υἱὸς... 424f.  
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*Redundancy*

- τέλος πάντων...πέρας 45-46  
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 ὥς ἀληθῶς ὅτι 141  
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ὅσους εὗρισκεν πτωχοὺς...ἐκάλει αὐτούς 539

τοῖς συνανακειμένοις σὺν ἐμοί 590

ὅπερ καὶ πλεονεξία τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται 622-23

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### *Gemination*

δύο δύο 313

σωροὺς σωρούς 569

# Vocabulary and names<sup>1</sup>

- Ἀβεσαλώμ 427 v.l. Σαμφών  
 Ἀβραάμ 25, 423, 657, 705, 706, 868–70  
 ἄγαμαι w. acc. 430; w. gen. 602  
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 ἀγάπη 332  
 ἄγιος 575, 581, 585, 730 (ἀνδράσιν ἁγίοις monks) 732, 740 (ἀγίῳ γέροντι monk), 772, 775, 776, 784, 800; also in title. For ἄγιος γέρων see also γέρων  
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 ἀδιαλείπτως 42, 606  
 ἀδνουμιάζω (ἀγνώ- G) 220  
 ἀδνούμιον or ἀδνουμίου 225 (ἀγνομίου G), (ἀγνώμην G) 232, (ἀγνώμην G) 234, (ἀγνώμιον G) 244. From Lat. *ad nomen*, ἀπογραφή ὀνομάτων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις (Suda). Cf. also *VTheodEdess*, par. 107 ... τοῦ συναγαγεῖν πάντας ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἀδνουμίων  
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<sup>1</sup> For the prepositions, see Grammatical index.



- ἀλλήλων 490, 570  
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